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¶ Imprynted at London in fletestrete in the house of Thomas Berthelet, nere to the condite at the sygne of Lucrece. Cum priuilegio.

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XENOPHONS TREATISE OF HOVSHOLDE.

hughe: Salusbur

1534

TO THE REDER

This boke of houſeholde, full of hyghe wiſedome, written by the noble philoſopher Xenophon, the ſcholer of Socrates, the whiche for his ſwete eloquence, and incredyble facilitie, was ſurnamed Muſa Attica, that is to ſay, the ſonge of Athenes: is ryght counnynly trāſlated out of the greke tonge into Englyſſhe, by Gentian Heruet at the deſyre of mayſter Geffrey Pole, whiche boke for the welthe of this realme, I deme very profitable tobe red.

Xenophons treatise of householde.



Harde vpon a tyme the wyse Socrates commune of the ordryng of an house, speakynge to one Crytobulus, after this maner. Telle me Critobulus, is the ordringe of an house, the name of a science, lyke wyse as phisike is, and masons and carpenters crafte? So me thynketh, sayde Critobulus. whether thā may we tel/what is the dutie, and the propre office, of the ordryng of an howse, lyke wise as we can tel of other craftes and sciences? Me thynketh, sayde Critobulus, it longeth to a good husbande/and a good ordrer of an house, to guyde wel and order his owne house. But yet sayd So. If one dyd put him in trust, and charge him to order his house, coude not he order it as wel as his owne, if he wolde? For he that hath a carpenters crafte well, he can worke as wel for an other, as he can for hym selfe, & may not a good husband, wel expert in the ordringe of an house, do lyke wyse? Me thynketh yes, good Socrates. Thanne a

man, sayde Socrates, that is well sene in that science, though he haue no substance, nor no goodes hym selfe, maye get his lyuyng, and haue good wages, if he wyl order an other mans house, as wel as he that buyldeth an house. In good faythe, sayde Critobulus, he were worthy to haue very good wages, if he coulde take an other mans house in hande, and do euery thyng, that belõgeth to it, & make the hous better in goodes and in substaunce. But what do we meane by the house, whether is it nothing els but the bare hous, or whether all maner of thynges, that a man hath out of the house, be belonging to the hous? Me thynketh, saide Crito. that al though that, that a man hath, be not within the towne, where he dwelleth, but in the countrey, or any where els, that all doth belonge to the hous, what so euer a mã hath. And be ther not some men, that haue enmyes? Yes mary, & a gret meiny to. And shal we say, that their enmies be their goodes or substance? By my feyth it were a mery ieste, if he that hath caused vs to haue mo enmyes thã we had, wold haue a reward for it beside, for bycause we haue iuged a mans house, and that that a man hath, to be al one. Ye but I do not accompte that amonge a mans sub-

staunce

ſtance and goodes, that is nought and hurt ful vnto him, but that that is good and pro= fitable. Than, as farre as J ſe, ye cal that a mans goodes and ſubſtaunce, that is profi= table vnto hym? Ye mary do J, and ſuche thinges as be hurtful, J cal them domages and not goodes. And what if a man bye a horſe, that he can not ryde, but fall downe from his backe, and ſoo do hym ſelfe a dy= ſpleaſure, is not that horſe his goodes? No by my faye, ſeing thoſe thinges be goodes that be good. Nor the grounde than ſhall not be called goodes vnto a mã, the which occupieth it ſo, that he hath domage by it. Nor the ground ſhal not be called goodes, if where that a man ſhoulde be founde and noriſſhed by it, he dyeth for hungre. Than it fareth lyke wyſe by ſhepe. If a man hath any domage, by the reaſon that he can not guyde them, nor order them as he ſhulde, the ſhepe ſhall not be goodes vnto hym? Me thynketh no. Than, as farre as it ſe= meth by you, ye cal thoſe thinges goodes, that be profitable, and thoſe thynges that be hurtefull be no goodes? So me thyn= keth. Than one ſelfe thynge ſhal be called goodes vnto him that cã vſe it as he ſhuld, & to hym that can not, it ſhalbe no goodes: like wiſe as recorders be goodes vnto him

that can play on them somwhat according: but vnto him that can not, they be no other wise good thā stones, that be vnprofitable, excepte a man do selle them. And soo lyke wyse by the recorders, if we sel them / they be good: but if we kepe them / and can not occupie thē / they be no goodes. we muste nedes agree in this tale / seinge we haue said afore / that those thinges / that be ꝓfitable, be goodes. For the recorders / as long as we kepe them vnsolde / they be no goodes / for they do vs no good: but if they be sold / they be goodes. Ye mary / said So. if one haue the wit to sel them wel. But if one do selle them / that can not order him selfe / euen whan they be al redy sold / they be no goodes / according to your tale. Me thynketh ye saye syr Socr. that nor yet money nother is goodes / except a man can vse it. So me thinketh / ye haue granted al redy, that those thynges be called goodes, that a man getteth any profite by. But if a man did bestowe his money vpon an harlot, and that by the reason of dayely conuersation with her / his body were the weker / his soule the worse disposed / and his house the worse kepte and ordered / howe shuld money be profitable vnto hym? It can not be in no case / excepte paraduenture we wyll call

call our goodes a poyſon/ the which whā a man doth eate of it/it bringeth him out of his witte. But as for money/frend Critobulus/ if a man can not vſe it, as he ſhulde/ let him caſt it away farre from hym. For it is nother profitable vnto hym/ nor may be called goodes. But as for frendes/if a mā can vſe them/ſo that he get ſome profite of them/what ſhal we ſay that they be? Goodes forſoth/ ſayd Crito. and moche more than ſhepe or oxen/ ſeinge they be a great deale more profitable. Than/according to your tale/our enmies like wyſe be goodes vnto him/ that can get profite of them. So me thinketh. And it is a point thā of a good husbād, and a good ordrer of an houſe/ to haue a waye, to vſe his enmies ſoo/that he may get ſome profit by them. In any caſe. For ye ſe wel inoughe/ good Crito. howe many mean mens houſes/ and howe many lordes & kingis dominions haue ben increaſed and amplified by the reaſon of warre. Forſoth ſyr So.me thynketh ye haue very wel ſpoken in this matter/but what thinke you by this/whan that we ſe that ſom men, which haue ſciences/good wages, & good proprieties, wherby they might make their houſes the better/if they wolde put them ſelf to it: yet we may wel ſe & perceiue, they

woll not do it. And therfore we se, that the scięces & good proprieties, that they haue, auayle them nothynge: whether than shall those sciences, that they haue, be accomted for their goodes and substance, or for some what els? Ye said Socra. me thynketh, ye meane that, by bond men, and by some vile persons. No by my feyth I: but I speake of some of them, that be honest mens sonnes and gentilmennes to, the whiche I se, that som of them, that be experte bothe in those thinges, that longe to warre, and also to peace, yet they woll not put them selfes to none of them. and me thinketh, they shuld be in a better case, if they were bound men. For I suppose, that they do not that that they shuld, for bycause they lacke maisters to putte them to it. Howe canne that stande, sayde Socrates, that they haue no maisters, whan that they desiring to liue in welthe and felicite, and mynded to do that that wolde be for their profyt: their lordes and superiours do let them, that they shall not do it? And what be they, sayde Critobulus, that be inuisible, and yet order them thus? Nay they be not all soo inuisible, no, Iwis they be clere inoughe to euery mans sight. And ye knowe well your selfe, they be moste vngratious and most myschcuous of all,

of all, if ſlouthfulnes, ſluggardiſe, lacke of ſtomacke and quickenes, lacke of takynge hede, and alſo negligence maye be take for vngratiouſnes. And beſyde theſe, there be other deceitfull ladies, the which do come in vnder the colour and name of pleaſures, playenge at dice and cardes, vnprofytable triflynge and kepynge company with vnthriftes, the whiche in proces of tyme doo ſhewe playnlye vnto theyr adherentes, by them deceiued, that among pleſures, there is ſomme wo and ſome ſorowe myngled.
Theſe ladies kepe them ſo in ſeruage and thraldome, that they can not be ſuffred to do nothynge, that is for theyr profytte. Ye but there be ſome other, good Socra. the which haue no ſuch, to let them from their buſines, but rather applye them ſelfes wel fauordly to theyr buſines, and ſeke and imagin al the wayes poſſible to get them good with al: yet they do ſtroye them ſelfes, miniſhe their liuelode, & deſtroy their houſes. And as concernyng to fynde any remedy, they be at theyr wyttes endes. And they alſo, ſayd Socrates, be lyke wyſe bounde men, as other be, and haue ouer them very ſore and cruell felowes to theyr mayſters. Some of them be in the thraldome of glotony, ſom of licorouſnes, ſome of dronken-

nes, some of vayne pride, and costly vayne glorye, the whiche kepe their subiectes so sore in seruitude and bondage, that as long as they se them yong and lustie, and able to worke, they make them to bringe them all that euer they can gette, to bestowe it vpon their lustis and pleasures. But whan they perceyue, they be so old, that they can not worke, than they let them alone with a mischiefe, to liue wretchedly in theyr old age, and seke other, that they may brynge in to their seruyce lyke wyse. But it behoueth gentil Critobulus, to stryue and fight with them for our own libertie, none other wise, than we wolde with them, the which, with naked swordes and weapons in their handis, go about to bring vs in to thraldome & seruytude. Enmyes, if that they be good honest men, whan they haue brought some men in to theyr subiection, they cause many to be moche better, teachynge them to be reuly and tẽperate, that afore were to high mynded and to fierce. But as for these ladies, they neuer cesse, but be euermore punishing, beatinge, and turmentinge the bodies, the soules, and the houses of thẽ that they haue vnder: and that they do as longe as they be their maistresses. Than Critobulus saide vnto hym after this maner. As

for this matter me thinketh, I haue harde you ſpeke ſufficientely in it . And whan I grope and ſerche wel my cõſcience, I find, that me thinketh, I can very wel refrayne all maner of ſuche thynges. wherfore if ye wil gyue me counſell, howe I maye do, to encreaſe & make my houſe better, I thinke, I ſhall be nothinge let of them that ye call ladyes. And therfore tell me with a good wil, if ye haue any goodnes in this matter. Or els ye thynke parauenture, that we be ryche inoughe, and nede no more goodes. By my faith, ſaide Socrates, in dede, if ye ſpeake of me, I nede no more goodes, but I am ryche inough. But as for you Critobulus, me thynketh ye be very poore. And by the feyth I owe to god, I haue ſom tymes great pitie of you. Than Critobulus laughyng ſaide: And I pray you for goddis ſake, if al your goodes were ſold, what ſhulde ye haue for them? And what ſhulde I haue for myne, if I wolde ſelle them?
I thynke, ſayd Socrates, that if I myght mete with a good byer, I ſhulde haue well for my houſe, and for all my goodes a.v. or vi. marke. But as for yours, I knowe very wel, that ye ſhulde haue an hundred tymes more. And ye that knowe this, do ye think your ſelfe, that ye lacke no more goodes,
and

and haue pitc of me, bicause of my pouerte. For that that I haue is sufficient inough to fynde me that that is necessarie. But for to meinteyn your state, and the worshyp, that ye haue taken vpon you, me semeth, that if ye had foure tymes as moche more, as ye haue, it were not inoughe. And howe so, sayd Critobulus? Than sayde Socrates: Fyrste of all I se, that ye must nedes make many feastis and many great banketes, or the people wyll skante abyde the sighte of you. Whore ouer ye must receyue into your houses many straungers, and intreate them honorably, kepinge good hospitalite. Furthermore, ye must byd many men to dyner, and do them some pleasure, or elles at your nede, ye shal haue no manne to helpe you. Whore ouer, I perceiue, that the cite of Athenes begynneth to put you to many greatte charges, as to fynde horses, to helpe to builde thinges longing to the cite, to make musters of mē, to cause goodly pageātes to be made, & goodly plaies to be plaide. But if there come in war ones, I am sure, they wyll haue so moche money frō you, what in taxes, what in subsidies, and what in preastis, that ye shall scante be able to beare it. And if ye seme to paye somwhat lesse than your power is, they woll punysshe you as sore,

ſore,as thoughe they had founde you rob-
binge the common treaſorie. Beſyde this,
I ſe that ye haue this opynion, that ye be
riche,and that ye care not to get no more
goodes, & that ye gyue your ſelfe to vaine
and chyldiſhe pleaſures,as ye may wel do,
The whiche thynges do moue me to haue
compaſſion of you, fearynge leſt ye fal into
ſomme miſfortune,and into great pouerty
without any remedy. And as for me, if I
had nede,I trowe ye knowe very wel,that
there be many, that wolde helpe me: in ſo
moch that if they gaue me but euery man a
lytell, I ſhulde haue more than the degree
of my liuing doth require. But as for your
frendes, al though they haue more to kepe
them in theyr degre,thā ye haue for yours:
yet they loke, that ye ſhulde helpe theym.
Than ſayde Critobulus, I haue nothynge
to ſay agaynſt you in this matter: But it is
time for you to inſtructe me with ſom good
preceptes, to thintent that I be not ſo my-
ſerable in dede,that ye may haue compaſſi-
on on me with a good cauſe. Than ſayde
Socrates: Do not ye thynke your ſelfe,
that ye do a very ſtrange,and a meruailous
thynge, that but a pratye whyle ago,whan
I ſayde, that I was riche, ye lough at me,
as though I knew not what riches mened,
and

and neuer stinted, til ye had put me to a rebuke, and made me to confesse, that I had not the hundreth part of that, that ye haue, and nowe ye byd me to instructe you, and set my diligence, that ye be not poore in very dede. For I se wel good So. sayde Critobulus, that ye haue in you the caste, to make a man ryche in dede, that is to make him haue plentie and abundaunce. And I truste, he that of a litel thyng can make plẽtie and abundaunce, shal do it moche more lightlier of many great thynges.

¶ Be ye not remembred, of our cõmuning a praty while ago, whan I coude in no case contrary your sayinge, that to him that can not vse horses, horse be noo goodes vnto hym, nor lande, nor shepe, nor money, nor nothing els, and yet of such thinges a man may get great profite and vantage? But as for me, howe do ye thinke, that I can vse or order suche thinges, that had neuer none? But me thought, that al though a man had nother money, nor goodis, yet there was a certaine science of gyding and ordring of an house. And what letteth you, that ye may not haue the same science? Loke what doth let a man to playe vpon recorders, if nother he had neuer none him selfe, nor borowed none of no body: the selfe same impedes

pedimēt haue I in the ordring of an houſe. For I neuer had nother inſtrumentes, that is goodes and money of min owne, to lerne by it, nor there was neuer no bodye, that charged me with his goodes, to ouerſe thē or to order them, except ye parauenture be diſpoſed to do. But ye knowe well, that they that lerne firſt to play vpon an harpe, they ſpill the harpe: So if I ſhulde nowe lerne on your houſehold, howe to keke an houſe, I am aferde, leſt I ſhulde deſtroye your houſe. Ha, ye go aboute very buſyly and redily to auoide, that ye wol not helpe me to beare, and ſuſteyne with me parte of my buſines. By my faye, that do I not: I woll be glad with all myne harte, to ſhewe you all that euer I can. But I thinke this, that if ye came to my houſe for ſome fyre, and I had none, if I brought you to an o-ther place, where ye mighte haue ſome, ye wolde not be dyſpleaſed with me. And if ye came, and aſked me water, and I hadde none, if I brought you into a place, where ye myghte drawe ſome, ye coud not blame me. And if ye wolde, that I ſhulde teache you muſicke, if I did ſhewe you other men, more experte in it, than I am my ſelfe, and that wolde be gladde and fayne to teache you, what coude ye blame me, if I dyd ſo?

I coude

I coude not do it with a good cause. Ther fore I wyl shewe you, that these thynges, which ye desire so instātly of me, that there be other men more counning, and more experte in them than I am. And this I grāt you, that I haue hadde a greate mynde to knowe, which were the moste counnynge, and the mooste experte in all the citie. For whan I did some tyme considre, that in one worke, one busines, and one thyng doinge some waxed very poore, and somme verye riche, I marueiled, and me thought, it was a thynge to be well consydered, howe that shuld be. And thus considerynge, I found, that this happened none other wyse, than the thyng it selfe and reason wolde. For I sawe, that they that behaued them selfes rasshely in theyr busines, had domage and losse by it: and they, that with dyscretion, witte, and good aduisement applied theyr busynes, broughte theyr mattyers to passe more quickely, more casily, and with more auantage. Of the whiche I thynke that ye may lerne, & so by the grace of god, come to be a very ryche man, with moche wynning and lucre. Nowe by my feyth I wyll neuer let you be in reste, vntyl the tyme ye shewe afore these frendes of yours, that ye speake of, that that ye haue promysed me.

But

But what wolde ye ſaye, if I dydde ſhewe you ſome men, the whiche haue builded for verye moche money, vnprofitable houſes, without any good caſt, or any good cõmoditie: and other that for leſſe coſte a great dele, haue made houſes, lackynge nothyng that longeth to an houſe, wyll ye not ſaye, that I do ſhewe you a poynt of a good orderer of an houſe? Yes verylye ſayde Critobulus. what if I ſhewe you next and accordyng to the ſame, that ſome men haue moche housholde ſtuffe, and of all ſortes, and whan they haue nede of it, they can not vſe it, but it is to ſeche, and they can not telle whether it be loſt or ſaue leide vp? And for this cauſe they be wonderslye greued in theyr mindes, and vexe & trouble theyr ſeruantes and nothinge elles. And alſo other men, the whiche haue no more, but rather leſſe, haue euery thyng redy at hand, whan they haue nede of it. what ſhulde be the cauſe of it, gentil Socra. but that the tone doth caſt aſyde euery thynge folyſſhelye, without any order: and the tother layth vp euery thinge in his place? There ye ſayde wel, ſaid Soc̃. And he not only ſetteth euery thyng in his place, but alſo in ſuche a place as is mete and conuenient to ſet it in. Me ſemeth, ſayde Crito. that ye ſay, that

this also is a poynte of a good ordrer of an hous. And what if I shewe you, that in one place al the bounde men and seruauntes be tyed faste, and yet they runne awaye often tymes: and in an other place they be loſed, wyllyng to abyde and labour with al their hartes, wil ye not thinke this a good point of a houſe keper, worthy to be loked vpon? Yes mary, sayd Critobulus, & very worthy to be loked vpō. And what if I shewe you housebande men, of the whiche some complayne and saye, that they dye for hunger, for all their housebandry, and somme that haue plentie, of al maner of thynges neceſſary, by the reason of their housebandrye. Ye mary, sayde Critobulus, paraduenture they beſtowe their money & their goodes, not where they shuld, but in suche thynges as be hurtfeull bothe to them and to their houſes. In dede there be some suche, sayd Socra. but I do not speke of theym, but of thoſe, the which cal them ſelfe housbande men, & yet they can scant get their meate & their drinke. And what shulde be the cauſe of this gentill Soc̄. I will bringe you vnto them, saide Soc̄. and whan ye se them, than shall ye lerne. Mary that wyll I, if that I can. Ye but first ye muſt proue your ſelfe, if ye shalbe able to knowe it, whan ye se thē.

It

It commeth into my mynde nowe, that ye wolde riſe very yerly, and go a great way, to ſe enterludes played, & that ye wold intreate me nedes to go with you, but ye neuer bad me to ſuch a ſight. Thā ye thinke, mine owne Soc̄. that I am worthye to be laughed to ſcorne of you. Ye but of your ſelfe moche more. But what if I do ſhewe you ſome men, the which by the reaſon of kepyng of horſes, haue ben brought to extreme pouerte, & other, the whiche by the reaſon of it, haue made theym ſelfes ryche men, and haue gotten ſo gret ſubſtāce, that they liue lyke lordes? I haue ſeene them, and I knowe them both, but I haue neuer the more vantage for that. The cauſe of it is, that ye beholde them lyke wyſe, as ye loke vpon the plaiers of enterludes, not to thintēt that ye may be a poete, but for a paſtime & a recreation. And parauēture ye do well in that, for ye be not mynded to be a poete, but where ye be cōpelled to kepe & fynde horſes, wyll ye not iuge your ſelfe a foole, if ye go not aboute to ſtudy a remedy, that ye be not ignoraunt in that behalfe, ſeinge that the ſelfe ſame thynges be good to the vſe, and profitable to be ſolde? Your mynde is that I ſhuld breke horſes? Noo by my faythe it, no more thanne if ye wolde

haue a good laborer, I wold gyue you coũ
sel to bring hym vp of a chylde. But there
be ages bothe of horses and of mẽ, the whi
che be immediately profitable, and do dai=
ly soo growe, that they do more good one
daye than an other. Furthermore I canne
shewe you som mẽ, the which haue so vsed
and ordred their wiues, that they comfort
them and helpe them toward the increasing
of their howse: and some that haue suche
wiues, the which destroy vtterly the hous,
and so the mooste parte of men haue. But
who is to be blamed for this, the husbande
or the wyfe, good Socrates? A shepe, yf
it do not well, for the mooste parte we doo
blame the sheperde. And a horse most cõ=
monly, if he be skittishe, and do some disple
sure, we blame the breker. And a wyfe like
wyse, if her housebande teache her well, if
she do not folowe it, she is parauenture to
blame. But if he do not teache her, if she be
rude, vnwomanly, and wytles, is not he to
be blamed? Yes by my faith, sayde Crito.
And seing that we be frendes, & may speke
playnly betweene our selfes, Is there euer
any other wyse man, that ye trust & charge
soo moche in your busines, as ye doo your
wyfe? No forsoth, sayde he. And is there
any, that ye commune lesse with, than ye do
with

with her? No by my faithe, and if there be any, they be very fewe. Ye maried her very yonge, whan ſhe had nother ſeene nor harde moche of the worlde. wherfore it were more to be maruailed at it, if ſhe knew and did as ſhe ſhuld, than if ſhe dyd amyſſe. They, the whiche ye ſaye, Critobu. haue good wyues, haue they taught them ſo in dede? Socrates. It is a thyng not to ſtand long vpon. For I wyll bringe you my wife Aſpaſia, the which ſhall ſhewe you all this better than I my ſelfe. But me thynkethe that a wife, beinge a good companion, and a good felowe to her huſebād in a houſe, is very neceſſary, and within a littell as moch worthe as the houſebande. For commonly goodes and ſubſtāce do com in to the houſe by the labour and peyne of the man, but the woman is ſhe for the moſte parte, that kepeth and beſtoweth it, where nede is. And if theſe two thynges ſtande well togyther, and be well ordeyned, the houſes doo increace, if not, they muſte nedes decaye.

¶ Moreouer me thinketh, that I cā ſhewe you in all ſciences them, that do worke and labour, accordynge as they ſhulde, if ye thynke that it nedeth. But what nede you to reherſe them all good Socrates, ſayde Critobulus? For it is nother poſſible for a

man to haue worke men of all faculties, suche as shulde be, nor him selfe to be expert in al. But as for suche sciences, as be most honourable, and maye become me well to occupie them, them I wolde ye dyd shewe me, and also those men, the whiche applie them selfes vnto them. And ye of your side helpe to teache me, and further me in them as moche as ye can. Ye speake verye well frende Critobulus, sayde Socrates. For suche craftes, as be called handy craftes, they be very abiecte and vile, and lyttel regarded and estemed in cities and common welthes: For they do destroye the bodies of those, that do occupie them, whan they make them to sytte euermore at home, and to be fedde vppe alwaye in the shade, and some make them to stande all the daye starynge on the fyre. And whan the bodye is ones tender and feble, the stomake and spirite muste nedes waxe a greatte deale the weaker. And againe, they haue smalle leysure to sette theyr mynde and dylygence to doo theyr frendes any good, nor also the common welthe. wherfore suche men seme to be but a small comforte to theyr frendes at a nede, nor no good menne to succoure theyr countrey in tyme of ieoperdye. And for a suertye, in somme cities and common

welthes,

welthes, and ſpecially ſuche as be dayly in warre, it is not laufull to neuer a cyteſen to occupie no handy crafte. And what faculties wyll ye counſaylle me to vſe, gentylle Socrates? Socrates. Let not vs thynke ſcorne, nor be aſhamed to folowe the kyng of the Perſis. For they ſaye, that he, ſuppoſynge the ſcience of warre, and alſo of houſebandrye to be moſte honourable, and alſo neceſſary among other faculties, doth regarde and exercyſe theym wonderfly.
And whan Critobulus harde that, he ſaid: Do ye thinke, that the kynge of Perſia careth any thynge for houſebandry? If we conſyder it after this maner, ſayde Socrates, we ſhall paraduenture come to knowledge, whether he dothe or not. For euery manne graunteth, that he ſetteth fore his ſtudy vpon ſuche thynges, as long to war. For it is appoynted to euery lyeutenaunte and lordes of the coũtreis vnderneth him, howe many men of armes, morifpikes, billes, archers, and croſebowes, they ſhall haue redy in theyr wages, eyther to kepe his ſubiectes from rebellion for feare, or to kepe the countrey, if enmyes do inuade it. Beſyde theſe, he layeth garyſons in al the towres and caſtels, and there is a capitayn apoynted to pay them truely theyr wages,

and to se that there be no faute in it. And the kinge causeth euery twelue monthe the musters to be made of al them that be in his wages, and be apoynted to be redy in harneis at any tyme, and so bryngeth them all together, those reserued that be in garisõs into a place, that they cal the place of congregation. And suche as be nighe his manour and his dwellynge place, he ouerloketh them him selfe. But they that dwel in farre countreys, he sendeth thyther some, that he trusteth best, to haue the ouer sight of them. And those heedes, rulers, and capitaines, whether they haue many or fewe vnder them, if they bryng forth their full nombre, that is apoynted vnto them, well harneised, and well horsed, and well furnished of al maner of thinges, he giueth very great prayse and honour to the lieutenãtes and to the lordes, and gyueth them many great gyftes and rewardes, so that they be riche for euer. But whan he fyndeth, that his lordes, his lieutenauntes, and deputies haue no regarde to the capitaynes of his soudiours, but catche and pul, and care but onely for their owne vantage, he punisheth them sore, he putteth thẽ out of their offices and setteth other in their stede. In doinge those thinges, there is no mã that douteth,

but

but that he applieth his mynd and his ſtu-dy very ſore to warre. But beſide this, all the cuntrey, that is therby, where he dwel leth, he rydeth aboute hym ſelfe, takynge hede and markynge howe it is tylled and laboured. But whan a countrey is ſo farre of, that he can not com to ſe it hym ſelfe, he ſendeth them, that he truſteth beſt, to ouer ſe it. And whan he fyndeth, that his lyeu-tenantes and deputies do kepe the coũtrey wel inhabited, the ground wel plowed and laboured, ful of ſuch trees as the countrey wyll beare, he promoteth them to the rule of more coũtres, he gyueth them gret pre-ſentes, and dothe them great honour. But whan he findeth the coũtrey deſert and vn habited, the grounde vntilled and vnlabou red, bycauſe of theyr negligence, wronges doing, extorſions, & cruelties, he puniſheth them, he putteth them out of theyr offices, and ſetteth other in theyr rowmes. In do-ing theſe thinges, do ye thynke, that he ſet teth leſſe his minde to haue his coũtre well replenyſſhed of dwellers, and well tylled and laboured, than that ſouldiours ſhulde defende it well? Moreouer of the lyeute-neuntes and deputyes, that he hath, One man hath not the charge of two thinges at ones. For ſome of theym be appoynted to

haue the ouersyght of the housbande men and labourers, and to gether tythes and tributes of them. And there be other, that haue the ouersighte of the soudiours, and of the garisons. And if the lyeutenaunt of the garison do not his duete, in keping and defendyng the countrey, he that is the lieutenaunte of the husebande men and labourers, accuseth the tother lyeutenaunt, that they can not plye theyr worke for lacke of good defence. But if the lyeutenaunte of the garyson dothe his deutye, and kepethe the cõtrey in peace, so that they may work at theyr pleasure, and the lyeutenant of the housband men doth not se to the countrey, that it be well inhabited, and that the housbande menne applye theyr worke as they shulde, than the lieutenaunt of the garyson accuseth him agayne. For whan the housbande men do not labour well, the souldyours can scant gette vitayles, nor the kyng can haue his tribute. And in somme countreys of Persia, a great lord, that they cal Satrapa, occupyeth the rowme of bothe lyeutenauntes. Than spake Critobulus, and sayde: If the kynge doth, as ye saye, he taketh as moch hede to housbandry, as he doth to warre. Soc. Horcour in what so euer cuntrey he lieth, and where so euer

he

he maketh his abydynge, he ſettethe his mynde to haue goodlye fayre gardeynes, that they call in theyr tongue Paradiſe, full of all maner of thynges, that the erthe bryngeth forthe. And there he bydethe for the mooſte parte, as longe as the tyme of the yere dothe not let hym.

Than by my faythe, ſayde Critobulus, ſeinge that he bideth there him ſelfe, he muſt nedes do his diligēce, that theſe gardeines maye be as fayre and as goodly as can be, well replenyſſhed with trees, and all maner of thinges, that the erth canne bringe forthe. And alſo ſome ſaye, good Crytobulus, ſayd Socrates, that whan the king gyueth any rewardes, that he calleth them fyrſte, that haue behaued them ſelfes manlye in the warres, bycauſe it were to none effecte, to tyll and labour the ground, excepte there were ſom, that ſhuld defend it. And nexte to them he callethe thoſe, that haue prouided, that the coūtrey ſhuld not be ydell, but well occupied and laboured, ſaying, that the valiant men of warre coud not lyue, if the good labourers were not. And they ſay, that Cyrus, the which hath ben a very famous, and an excellent kinge, ſayd vpon a tyme vnto them, that he called vnto hym, to gyue them rewardes, that he

hym

hym selfe was well worthy to haue the re-
wardes of them bothe. For he sayde, that
he was very good bothe to se the coūtrey
wel laboured, and also to kepe & defend it.
Forsothe, sayde Critobulus, if Cirus dyd
say so, he dyd shewe plainly, that he had as
great pleasure, that the countre shulde be
well occupied, as to haue good mē of war.
Soc. By my faithe, if Cirus had lyued, he
wold haue proued a very noble prince: and
of that he shewed many great and euident
tokens at dyuers tymes, and amonge the
tother, whan he came forthe agaynste his
brother, to trye by batayle, who shulde be
kynge. For they say, that from Cirus noo
man fled to the kyng, but many thousandes
lefte the kynge to come and serue Cirus.
And me thynketh this is a great argument
of a princis vertue, whan men do obey hym
with theyr owne good wyll, and be glad to
abyde with hym in tyme of ieopardy. For
Cirus frendes stode fightynge about hym
whiles he was yet alyue, and whan he was
slayne, they fightyng most valyantly were
slaine al beside hym, excepte Arieues, the
which was set in the left wynge. This gen
tyl Cirus, whan Lysander came to hym, to
bryng hym presētes fro the cities of grece
confederated vnto hym, they say, as Ly-
sander

ſander ſhewed hym ſelfe to a frende of his in the towne of Megara, that he receyued him with moch humanite, and among other thynges he ſhewed hym a gardeyne that was called the Paradis of Sardis. But whā Lyſander began to maruayle at it, bycauſe the trees were ſo faire and ſo egally ſette, and the orders of the trees laye ſtreyghte one agaynſt an other, and made goodly angles & corners well proportioned, and many ſwete and pleaſant ſauours cam to their noſes, whan they were walkynge, he wondrynge therupon ſayde thus: Forſoth Cirus, the grete beautifulnes of theſe thinges is a greatte maruayle to me, but I wonder moch more of him, that hath meaſured and ſet them thus in order. Than Cirus, whan he hard this, did reioyce and ſay: Al theſe that ye ſe I haue meaſured them, and ſette them in order, and I can ſhewe you ſome trees, that I haue ſet with myne owne hādes. And Lyſander whan he had loked vpon hym, and beholdē his goodly apparel, and felt the good ſauour that came from it, and the eſtymable fayreneſſe of his golden chaynes, his rynges, and his precious ſtones, ſayde: what ſaye ye Cirus, haue ye ſette any of theſe with your owne handes? Than Cirus aunſwered. Do ye meruaylle

of

of this Lysander: By the fayth that I owe to god, whan I am well at ease, I neuer go to dyner, vnto the time I haue done some what, outher in feates of armes, or in some pointe of housebandry, tyl I swete. Than, whan Lysander herd this, he toke hym by the hande and sayd: Me thynketh Cirus, ye be fortunate not without a cause. For ye be fortunate being a good man.

And this I reherse vnto you myne owne Critobulus, said Socrates, for this cause, that ye may se, that they that be ryche and fortunate, can not well kepe theym frome housebandry. For it is suche an exercyse, and suche a busines, that a man maye haue pleasure in it, both to encrease and multiply his goodes, and also to exercyse the bodye soo, that it shall be able to doo all maner of thynges that belonge to an honeste manne to doo. For fyrste of all, the grounde bryngeth forthe all suche maner of thynges, that a manne is fed and nourysshed with, and it bryngeth forthe also suche thynges, that a man may haue pleasure by it. Moreouer, it gyuethe vs all suche thynges, as we nede, to trimme and dresse [redacted], and that with mooste pleasaunt syghtes and sauours. Furthermore, of meates necessary

for

for mannes vſe, ſomme it bryngethe by hit ſelfe, and ſome it nouriſheth. For the craft of keppynge of ſheepe is annexed to houſe-baundry, ſoo that we maye vſe them at our owne pleſure. And thoughe it gyuethe vs plentye of all maner of thynges, yet it doth not ſuffre vs to gether them with ſoftenes and tendernes, but vſeth vs to be hard and ſtronge, in wynter by the reaſonne of the colde, and in ſommer by the reaſon of the heate. And as for them, the whiche do labour with theyr owne handes, it makethe theym bygge and myghtye, and they that occupy houſebandrye but onely with ouer lokynge and takynge hede to other mens warkes, it quickeneth and makethe theym lyke men, makynge them to ryſe yarely in the mornynge, and cauſyng them to walke a great waye. For bothe in the fieldes and alſo in the cities, euery thynge that a man dothe to any purpoſe, muſt nedes be done in tyme and in ſeaſon. Moreouer, if he wyll be a horſe man, and defend his countre on horſebacke, a horſe maye no where be better fedde than in the countreye. And if he wyll be a foteman, houſebandry maketh a man ſtrong bodied, and cauſeth hym to exercíſe him ſelfe goinge a huntynge, whan it gyueth lyghtly meate to the dogges, and

the

the grounde bryngeth vp and nourysheth wylde beastes. And the horses, and lyke wyse the dogges, thus holpen by the way of husbãdry, do againe some seruice to the grounde. For the horse beareth hym yerly in the mornynge, that wyll se the grounde be nat let alone vntylled & vntrymmed, and at nyghte beareth hym home agayne, if he tary neuer so late. And the dogges kepe awaye wylde beastis, that they spyl not the fruite, and kylle the shepe, and make a man to be sure in a wyldernes. More ouer, hit comforteth and stirreth husband men to be bolde, and to stande manly to defend theyr countre, seing it leaueth the fruites abrode in the playne to be vsurped of hym that is stronger. And what facultie wyll make a man more apte to runne, to shote, and also to leape, than husbandrye? what science yeldeth more againe to thē that do labour? what sciēce receiueth hym, that is studious with greatter pleasure, seinge whan he cometh, it gyueth hym leaue to take what he wyll? where shall a straunger be better welcomed to make hym good chere? wher shal a man haue better commoditie to kepe his winter with fire inoughe and hotte bathes? And where is more pleasant dwellynge for goodly waters, gentyll wyndes,

and

and ſhadowe, than in the fieldes? where maye a man make better feaſtis, and more triumphant bankettes? what other place do ſeruātes loue better? what other place doth a wyfe lyke more? where do children deſire more to be? where be frendes better receyued, and gladder to be? Forſoth me thinketh it a maruaylous thynge, if any honeſt man can fynde any ſubſtance, that he delyteth more in, or if he can fynde any occupation outher more pleaſaunte than this is, or more profitable for his lyuinge. And moreouer, the grounde techeth men Juſtice, if they haue the wytte to lerne it. For they that do for it, and haue care for it, it rewardeth them, with farre moche more. And if they, that haue ben brought vppe in houſebādry, by ſome ſodaine chance of enmyes, they that be lordes of the countrey can not tyll the grounde, they may go into theyr enmies countres, ſeynge they haue ben wel and hardly brought vp, and gette there as moche, if god be not agaynſt thē, as wyll ſuffice them to lyue with. And it is often times more ſure to ſeke for his liuing in tyme of warre, with weapons of warre, than with inſtrumentes of houſebandry.

The praiſe of huſbandrye.

Housbandry alſo teacheth men to helpe one an other. If we wyll go to warre, we

muſt haue men, nor the grounde can not be laboured without menne. And therfore he that will be a good housband man, he muſt get him good luſty worke men, and willing to do after hym and obeye hym. And the ſelfe ſame thyng he muſt go about to bring to paſſe, that leadeth an army to fyghte agaynſt his ennies, guing great rewardes vnto them, that behaue thē ſelfes like good valiant men, and punyſhe them that be ſtoborne, and wyl not be ordred. And he that is a good houſebaud, muſt as often tymes cal vpon his labourers, and comfort them, as the capitayne doth his ſoudiours. And bounde men haue as great nede to be comforted, and meinteined with good hope, as other fre men, ye & rather more, to thende they run not away, but be glad to bide ſtyl. And ſurely he ſayde very well, that called housbādry the mother and the nourice of al other ſciences. For if housbandry doth ſtand well, all other ſciences and facultyes do the better. But if the groūd be baraine, and can beare no fruite, all other ſciences be al moſt ſpilled bothe by ſee and by land.

whanne Critobulus had harde this, he ſpake after this maner. Me thinketh, good Socrat. ye ſpeke very well in this matter. But ye knowe very wel, that the moſt part

of

of ſuche thinges, as long to houſebandry, a man can not caſte theym afore hande. For often tymes hayle ſtones, drought, or continuall rayne, myſte, or vermyne, that eate vp the ſede that is in the ground, do put vs beſide our intent and purpoſe, if it were neuer ſo good. And ſhepe like wiſe, if they be in neuer ſo good paſture, there comethe a ſickenes, that deſtroyeth thē all. Socra. whan he hard that, ſayd againe. I thought that ye knewe wel, that god is aboue al, as wel in housbandry, as he is in warre. we ſe, that they that wil make war, afore they begynne, they make their vowes, prayers, and ſacrifices, deſyrynge to knowe, what is beſte to do, and what is not beſte. And thynke ye, that in thoſe thynges, that long to houſebādry, we ſhuld haue les recourſe to god? Be ye ſure of this, that good and honeſt men do worſhyp almighty god with oblations, and prayers, for al theyr fruites, their oxen, theyr ſhepe, and their horſes, and generally for al that they haue. Me thynketh good Socr. ſayde Critobu. that ye ſpeke very wel in this matter, whan ye byd to begin euery thyng with the truſt of the helpe, and of the grace of god, ſeinge that god is aboue al thinges, as wel in war as in peace. And therfore we wil endeuour

vs to do so. But seinge your purpose was, to speake here of the ordryng of an house, the which ye haue left, and be entred into an other tale, endeuour your self to shewe vs a lyttell more, what foloweth next. For nowe that I haue harde you say, that that ye haue spoken, me semeth I se moch better than afore, what a man muste doo for to lyue. wherfore Socrates sayde: But wyll ye, that we rehérse all that we haue spoken afore, and agreed in, to thentente that we maye, if we canne, go forth in this matter, bringynge such thyng as we shal lyke wise agree vpon? Me thynketh that lyke wyse, as it wolde be a great pleasure, whan two men haue lente money one to an other, to agree vpon the rekenyng: So nowe in our comunication, vtteringe our myndes one to an other, if we myght gree in one tale. wel than, sayd Socrates, we agreed vpon this, that the ordrynge of an house is the name of a science, and that semeth to be the science, to order and increace the house. And we toke the house for al a mãs possessions and goodes. And we sayde that was truely the possession and goodes of a man, the which was profitable vnto hym for his lyuynge, and we founde all that profitable, that a man coude vse and order. And ther-

fore

fore we thought impoſſible for a manne, to lerne all maner of ſciences. And as for all the handye craftes, we thought beſt to expelle them from vs, lyke wiſe as many cytics and common welthes dyd. For they ſeme both to deſtroye a mannes body, and to breake a mannes hart and ſtomake. And herof, we ſayde, that this myght be an euidente token. For if the enmyes dyd inuade the countreyes, and one dyd ſet the houſebande men and the artificers a ſyde, diuided in two partes, and aſked theym, whether they had leuer to come forth and pitch the fielde to fyght with theyr enmyes, orels to gyue vp the fieldes, and kepe and defende the cities: They that haue ben vſed in the fieldes and houſebādry, wold be gladde to fyght, to delyuer the countrey. But on the tother ſyde, the artificers wolde doo that that they haue ben brought vp in, that is to ſytte ſtylle, neuer labourynge, nor neuer puttynge them ſelfes in preace, nor in ieopardy. Moreouer we commended houſebandry for a good exerciſe and a good occupation for a good and an honeſt man, by the whiche men may haue all that is neceſſarye for them. For it is an occupation very ſone lerned, and very pleaſant to be occupied in it: the which alſo maketh a mans

body myghtye, stronge, well complexti=oned, and wel fauoured, his stomake and his spiryte to be alway lusty and redy to do for his frendes, and for his countreye.

why husebandrye is moste ho=nourable.

Moze ouer, we iudged that it gaue men harte and courage to be valiant and hardy, seing the fruites, that the ground brought forth, lay abrode in the plaine, without trē=ches, bulwarkes, or fortresses. And ther=fore that kynd of lyuynge semed to be most honorable, and beste estemed in cities and common welthes, bycause it maketh good men, well disposed, and well mynded to do good for the common welthe.

Than sayde Critobulus, I am after my mynde sufficientely perswaded, that a man maye haue a very good, an honeste, and a pleasant lyuynge in occupienge housebandry. But where ye sayde, that ye knewe the cause, that some dyd so vse and occupie housebandrye, that they had by it plentie of all maner of thynges, that they neded: and some agayne, that so ordred them sel=fes in it, that it auayled them nothing, these two thynges wolde I gladly here of you, to thentent we maye do that that is good, and eschewe that that is contrary.

But what if I do tell you swete Critobu. sayd Socrates, euen from the beginnyng, what

what comunicatiõ I had ones with a man, the whiche myghte be called truely and in dede a good honeſt man? That wolde I here very fayne, ſayde Critobulus. For I my ſelfe do greatly deſyre, that I maye be worthy of that goodly name. Than wyll I tell you, howe I came fyrſte to the conſideration of this. For as touchyng good carpenters, good ioyners, good peynters, good ymagers, me thought, that I myght in a littel time ſe and beholde theyr warkes moſt allowed and beſt accepted, that made them to be ſo called. But to thend I might ſe and beholde, howe they that hadde that goodly and honorable name of a good and an honeſte man, dyd behaue them ſelfes to be worthy of it, my mynde dydde coueyte greately to talke with one of them. And fyrſte of all for bycauſe good and honeſte, wente to gether, whan ſo euer I ſawe any goodly man, I drewe to hym, and wente about to knowe of hym, if I might ſe good and honeſt, in a goodly man. But it wolde not be. For me thoughte that I founde, that there were many with goodly bodies and fayre viſages, that had but yuel diſpoſed and vngratious ſowles.

Than me thought it beſt, to enquere no further of goodly bodies, but to get me to one

of them that were called good an honeste men. And for bycause I harde, that Ischomachus was generally, bothe of men, women, citezins, and strangers, called and taken for a good honest man, me thoughte I coude do no better, than to, proue howe I myghte commune with hym. And vppon a tyme, whan I sawe hym sittyng in a porche of a churche, for bycause me thoughte he was at leyser, I came to hym, and sette me downe by hym, and said: what is the cause good Ischomachus, that ye, which be wōt to be euer more occupied, sytte here nowe after this maner, for I haue seene you for the most part, euermore doing some what, and lightly neuer ydell, except it were very lyttell? For ye shulde nowe haue seene me good Socrates, sayde he, syttynge after this maner, if I had not appointed with certaine straungers to tary here for them. And if ye were not here, where wolde ye haue bene, or howe wolde ye haue ben occupied, sayd I to hym? For I wold knowe of you very fayne, what thynge ye do, that maketh you to be called a good and an honest man? The good complection of your body sheweth well ynoughe, that ye bryde not alwaye slouggynge at home. And than Ischomachus laughing at that that I said,

what

what do ye, that maketh you to be called a good and an honeſt man, and reioyſyng in his harte, as me thought by hym, ſayde, I can not tell, if any man calleth me ſo, whan you and he talke of me, but whan I muſte paye money, or for taxes, preaſtes, or ſubſidies, they calle me playnely by my name Iſchomachus. And in dede good Socr. I do not alwaye byde at home, for my wyfe can order well inoughe ſuche thynges as I haue there. Yea but this wolde I knowe of you very fayne, Dyd ye your ſelfe bring your wyfe to this: or els hadde her father and her mother brought her vp, ſufficiently to order an houſe afore ſhe came to you? Iſchomachus. Howe coude ſhe haue ben ſo, whan ſhe was but fiftene yere olde, whā I maryed her? and afore ſhe hadde ben ſo negligently brought vp, that ſhe hadde but very lyttell ſene, very littell harde, and very lytel ſpoken of the world. And I trowe ye wolde not thynke it ſufficiente in her, if ſhe coude do nothynge but ſpin and carde, and ſette the hande maydens to worke. As for ſuche thynges, as concerne the lower partes of the bely, good Socrates, ſayde he, ſhe had ben very well broughte vp, the whiche is no ſmalle poynte of good bryngynge vp, bothe in a man and in a woman.

And dyd ye teache your wyfe al the reme=
nant, said I, so that she is able to take hede
of al maner of thinges? Yes, said he, but not
afore I had made my prayers to all mighty
god, desirynge him, that he wold gyue me
the grace, to teache her so, and her to lerne
that of me, that shulde be good & profitable
to vs bothe. And dyd your wyfe make
the selfe same prayer with you, sayde I?
Yes mary, said Ischomachus, and it semed
in a maner, that god dyd promise euidētly,
and she like wise shewed with clere and ma
nifeste tokens, that she wold very well re=
garde and take hede to that that she shulde
be taught. For goddis sake good Ischo=
machus, sayde I, what dyd ye begynne to
teache her firste: for I had leauer here you
tell me suche a thynge, than if ye shuld de=
scriue me a iustyng or a turnament, though
it had ben neuer so trinmphant? Mary I
wyl tel you Socrates, said he. whan we
were ones so wel acqueinted, & so familiar,
that we talked together, I examined her af
ter this maner. Tell me good bedfelowe,
did ye euer cast in your mid, for what cause
I haue taken you, and your father & your
mother deliuered you vnto me? I trowe
ye knowe wel inough, that I toke you not
for nede, that I had of a bedfelowe, to lye
with

with me, for I myght haue had inowe at my commaundemente. But whan I had conſydered in my mynde, and your father and your mother lyke wyſe, that hit were well doone, to fynde out a good one, to be parte taker both of our howſe, and of our chyldren, I choſe you afore all other, and your father and mother lyke wyſe choſe me. wherfore if here after god giue vs the grace, that we maye haue chyldren to gether, we ſhall take counſaylle, howe to bringe them vppe and inſtructe theym in vertue. For it ſhall be for bothe our pro-fyttes to haue them, bothe to defende vs, and to helpe and nouryſſhe vs, in our olde age. Nowe the houſe that we haue, is com mon to vs bothe. For al that euer I haue, I haue ſhewed you, and delyuered it vnto you to kepe for bothe our behoues: and ye lyke wiſe haue done the ſame. And ye may not caſt in your mynde, whiche of vs bothe brought more. But this ye muſte knowe for a ſuretie, that loke whiche of vs twayne doth behaue hym ſelfe, and dothe beſte in this felowſhyppe, that he bryngeth more, and his parte is the better. A good leſſon for a wyfe.

Than my wyfe, good Socrates, anſwered here vnto after this maner. wherin can I helpe you, ſaid ſhe? or wherin may my littel power

power do you any good? For truly my mother tolde me, that al to gether lay in your handes, and that it belonged vnto me, to be sobre and lyue in chastitie. Mary soo it is good wyfe, sayd I, and so my father tolde me to. But it is the poynt of a sobre housebande, and of a sobre wyfe, to do soo, that that the whiche they haue, may be wel ordred and guyded, and to encreace and get more to it, by som good and ryghtful way. And what do ye see in me, sayde my wyfe, that I may encreace our house, if I do applie it? Mary, sayd I, if ye endeuour your selfe to do those thinges to the best of your power, the whiche both god willeth, that ye shulde do, and the lawe exhorteth you to it. And what thynges be those said she? Veryly, sayd I, no small thynges, excepte ye thynke, that that Bee dothe but a littell good, the which remaineth stil in the hiue, to ouer see the warkes, whan the other go abrode to gether floures. And forsoth me thynketh, that god almyghty hath sette to gether for many good causes and considerations, that goodlye couple, that is the housebande and the wyfe, to thentent that they shuld be moste profitable one to an other in that good feloweshyp. Fyrste of all to thentent that mankynde do not decay & fayle,

why wedlocke was ordeyned.

faile, this ioly couple lieth to gether and in gendreth chyldren. Than agayne by reaſon hereof, they bringe forthe chyldren to helpe and ſuccour them in theyr olde age. Moreouer the maner and lyuinge of men, doth greatly differ from the lyfe of wylde beaſtes, the whiche be alway abrode in the fieldes. For it is mete for men to haue houſes. wherfore it is conuenyente, that they, whiche wyll haue ſome what to bringe into theyr houſes, haue menne with them to do thoſe warkes, that muſte nedes be done abrode in the fieldes. For tyllynge of the grounde, ſowynge of the corne, ſettyng of trees, and kepynge of beaſtis at graſſe and paſture, be all done abrode. But agayne it is nedefull, whan thoſe fruites be conueyed in to the houſe, to ouer ſe and ſaue thē, and to do al ſuche thynges as muſt be done at home. Babis and yonge children muſte nedes be broughte vppe within the houſe. Breade muſte be baked, and the meate ſod and dreſſed within the houſe. Alſo ſpynnynge, cardynge, and weauynge muſte be doone within the houſe. And where that bothe thoſe thynges, that muſt be done abrode, and thoſe that be doone within the houſe do require care & diligence: me thinketh that god hath cauſed nature to ſhewe playnely,

A howſe wyues office.

plainely, that a womā is borne to take hede of all suche thinges, as muste be doone at home. For he hath made man of body, hart, and stomacke strong and myghty, to suffre and endure hete and colde, to iourney, and go a warfare. wherfore god hath in a maner commmaunded and charged hym with those thynges, that be done abrode out of the howse. He also remembrynge, that he hath ordened the woman, to brynge vp yonge chyldren, he hathe made her farre more tender in loue towarde her children, than the housebande. And where he hath ordeined, that the woman shuld kepe those thinges, that the man getteth and bringeth home to her, and he knowynge very well, that for to kepe a thynge surelye, it is not the worste poynt, to be doubtful and fearefull, he dealed to her a greatte deale more feare, than he dyd to the man.

And he also perceyuinge, that if any man doth hym wronge, the whiche labourethe and worketh without, he must defende himselfe, he distributed to the man a great dele more boldnes. And for bycause it behoueth, that bothe they do gyue and receiue, he hath gyuen them indifferentely remembrance and diligence, in so mocke, that it is hard to discerne, whether kynd hath more

of

of them, either the man or the womanne. He hath alſo granted them indifferently, to refrayne them ſelfes from ſuch thinges, as is conuenyent they do. And hath gyuen thē power and auctorite, that loke in what thynge the either of them doth the better, he bringeth the more away with hym. But bycauſe the natures and the diſpoſitions of them both, be not egally ſoo perfecte in al theſe thinges, they haue ſo moch the more nede the one of the other. And this couple is ſo moch the more profitable, the tone to the tother, bycauſe that that the tone lacketh, the tother hath. wherfore good wife, ſeinge we ſe that, which god hath ordeined for vs bothe, we muſte enforce, and endeuour our ſelfes to do both our partis in the beſte wyſe. The lawe ſemeth to comforte vs and exhorte vs to it, the which coupleth man and wyfe together. And lyke wyſe as god maketh them come to gether to gette chyldren, So the lawe wyll haue them liue together, partakers one of an others goodes in good flowſhyppe. Lyke wyſe the lawe ſheweth, and god commandeth, that it is beſte for eche of them to do theyr parte. For it is more honeſtie for a womā to kepe her houſe, than to walke aboute. And it is more ſhame for a man to abyde ſluggynge

at

at home, than to apply his mynde to suche thinges as muste be done abrode. But if any man doth contrary to that that he is naturally borne to, parauenture god wyll remembre, that he breaketh his statutes and decrees, and wyl punishe hym, outher for bicause he is negligēt in that that he shuld do, orels bycause he taketh vpon hym that that belongeth to the wyfe. Ihe thynketh also, that the maisters bee, that kepeth the hyue, dothe lyke wyse, that that god hath ordeyned her vnto. And what dothe the maystres bee, sayde she, wherby it may be likened to that that I must do? For bicause sayde he, it bydeth alwaye in the hyue, and wyll not suffre no bees to be ydel: and they that shuld worke without, she sēdeth thē to their worke. And what so euer any of them bryngeth home, she marketh, receyuethe, and saueth it, vntyll the tyme come that it must be occupied. And whan the tyme comethe, that it muste be occupied, than she distributeth euery thynge accordyng as equitie requireth. And she causeth thē that do bide within, to weaue and make the faire hony combes after the best wise, and taketh hede to the yonge bees, that they be well fed and brough vp. But whā they be come to that age, and to that point, that they be able

A good ensaumple of bees.

able to worke, ſhe ſendeth them out with one, the which they folowe as theyr gide and capitayne. And muſt I do ſo to, ſaid my wyfe? Ye forſoth ſayd I: For ye muſt alwaye byde within the houſe, and thoſe men, the whiche muſte worke abrode, ye muſt ſende them to it: and they that muſte worke within, ye muſt commaunde them, and be ouer them, to ſe thē do it. And that that is brought in, ye muſt receiue it. And that, whiche muſte be ſpente of it, ye muſt parte and deuide it. And that that remaineth, ye muſt ley it vp and kepe it ſafe, tyll time of nede. And beware, that that, whiche was apoynted to be ſpente in a twelue monthe, be not ſpente in a monthe. And whan the wol is brought in to you, ye muſt ſe, that it be carded and ſponne, that clothe may be made of it. Alſo ye muſte ſe, that the corne, whiche is brought in to you, be not ſo muſty, and duſty, that it maye not be eaten. But one thynge ſpecially aboue al other there is, that ye muſt be careful fore, and that ſhall gette you greate fauour and loue, that is, if any of our ſeruauntes, hap to fal ſicke, that ye endeuour your ſelfe, the beſte that ye canne, not onely to cheryſſhe them, but alſo to helpe that they may haue theyr helth agayne. By my feyth, ſayde

my wyfe, it is a very gracious and a kinde dede. For whan they be onces holpen, and eased, they wil cunne vs very good thanke, and be the more louynge and feythfull vnto vs. And me thoughte, sayde Ischomachus, that it was an aunswere of a good and an honest wyfe. And by the reason of this good prouision of this maystres bee, sayde I, all the tother beare so good loue and affection vnto her, that whan soo euer she goeth out of the hyue, there wyll none tary behynde, but all wayte vpon her.
Than my wife answered me. I do greatly maruayle, whether suche thynges, as ye saye the maystres bee dothe, doo not belonge moche more to you than to me.
For my kepynge & departyng within, were but a lyttell worthe, excepte ye dyd your diligence, that somwhat myght be brought in. And my bryngynge in, sayde I, shulde auayle but a littel, excepte there were one, that kept and sauid that, that I brought in.
Do ye not se, sayde I, howe euery man hath great pite of thē, the which, they say, that their punishment is to poure water in to tubbes full of hooles, tylle they be full. And they pitie them for nothing els, but by cause they seme to labour in vaine. By my fayth, sayd my wife, they be very miserable

ſn dede, the which do ſo. There be other thynges, that belonge to you to take hede of, the whiche muſt nedes be very pleaſãt vnto you, as whan ye haue taken one into your ſeruice, that canne nother ſpynne nor carde, if ye teache her to doo it, it ſhall be twyſe ſo moche more worthe vnto you.
And if ye hauc a maide, the wich is outher negligent, or is not trewe of her bandes, or that can not wayte, if ye make her diligent, truſty, and a good ſeruaunte, all ſhall be to your great profyte. And agayne, whan ye ſe your ſeruantes good and ſobre felowes, and profitable for our houſe, ye muſte doo thẽ good, and ſhewe them ſome gentilnes. But if there be any of thẽ knauiſſhe or froward, ye muſte puniſſhe them. And this agayne ſhulde be moſte pleaſant of al, if ye coude make your ſelfe better than I, and make me as it were your ſeruaunt. And ye nede not fere, leſte in proces of time, whan ye come to age, ye be leſſe ſet by: but be ye ſure of this, if ye be diligent, louynge, and tendable to me, our chyldren, and houſeholde, the elder that ye waxe, the more honourable and better eſtemed ſhall ye be.
For it is not the beautifulnes, and goodly ſhappe, but the very vertue and goodnes that men regarde, and fauour.

I remembre good Socra. that my fyrst cõmunication with her, was after this maner. And dyd ye perceiue good Ischomachus, sayd I, that by the reason of this, she was any thynge moued to be more diligent. Yes veryly, sayde Ischomachus. And I sawe her vpõ a time sore an angerd with her selfe, and greatly ashamed, that whan I asked her a thynge, that I hadde brought home, she coude not fette it me. And whan I sawe, that it greued her very sore, I said vnto her, Take neuer the more thought for the matter, if ye can not gyue me that that I aske you. For it is a token of pouerte in very dede, whã a man lacketh a thynge, that he can not haue. But this nede maye be suffered a great deale better, whan a man seketh a thynge and cannc not fynde it, than if at the begynnynge he doth not seke for it, knowing that he hath it not. But as for this ye be not to be blamed, sayd I, but I my selfe, seinge I haue not apointed you a place, where to leye euery thyng that ye myghte knowe, where ye shuld set it, and where to fette it agayne.

The preise and profyt of order.

There is nothynge, good swete wife, so profitable and so goodlye amonge men, as is an order in euery thynge.

In playes and enterludes, where a great company

company of men is aſſembled to plaie their partes, if they ſhuld raſhely do & ſay, what ſo euer fell into theyr braynes, it wolde be but a trouble and a buſines, and no pleaſure to beholde them. But whan they doo and ſpeake euery thynge in order, the audyence hath a very greate pleaſure bothe to beholde them, ye and alſo to here them.
And lyke wiſe an army of men ſwete wyfe, ſayde I, that is out of order, and ſet out of good arraye, is a very great confuſion, in daunger to be lightlye ouer come of theyr enmies, and a very pituous and myſerable ſyght to theyr frendes, as whan there is together in a plumpe, aſſes, fotemen, cartes, baggage, and men of armes. And howe ſhulde they go forwarde, whan they do let one an other? He that gothe, letteth hym that runneth, he that rounneth, diſtourbeth hym, that ſtandeth ſtill, the cart letteth the mã of armes, the aſſe, the cart, the baggage the foteman. And if they ſhulde come to the point, that they muſt fighte, how coude they fyght beinge in that takyng? For whã they be faine, by the reſon of theyr il order, to flee theyr owne companye, that letteth them, howe coude they, thus fleing, ouer come them, that ſet vpon them in good order of bataylle, and well weaponed? But

the army, that is well ordred and kepte in good array, is a very pleasant sight to their frendes, and greuous to their enmyes. what frend is there, but that he wyl haue a very great pleasure to se the fote men marche forwarde in good order and arraye? what is that man, but he wil maruail, when he beholdeth a great nombre of men of armes rydynge in good arraye and order? And what enmie wil not be aferd, whan he seeth morispikes, bylles, mē of armes, cros bowes, and also archers, the which folowe their capitaynes in good arraye and order of batayle? And also whan they marche forwarde in good array, if they be neuer so many thousandes, yet they walke as pesybly as though there wer but one mā alone.

And what maketh a galey, wel furnisshed with men, feareful to the enmies, and pleasaunt to beholde vnto frendes, but that it goth so swyftly? And what maketh them that be in it, that they do not trouble one an other, but that they do sytte in order, kepe & make signes in order, lye downe in order, ryse in order, drawe the oores in order? And as for confusion & misorder, me thynketh it is lyke, as if a man of the countreye shuld put together on a hepe, otes, wheate barly, and pease: and whan he had nede to

occupie

occupie any of them, he ſhulde be fayne to
trye it out, and put it by it ſelfe agayne.
wherfore ſwete wyfe, ye ſhall lyghtlye eſ-
ſchewe ſuche confuſion, if ye putte to your
good wyl, to ſet in good order that that we
haue, & take to you that that ye haue nede
of, and ſpare not: and gyue to me that that
I call for gratiouſly. And let vs ſeke out
and prepare a hanſome place to ſette euery
thynge in, accordynge as euery thyng re-
quireth. And whan we haue ſette it there,
let vs ſhewe it the ſeruaunte, that ſhe maye
fetche it, and laye it vppe agayne.

And thus we ſhall knowe, what we haue
ſaued, & what we haue loſte. For the place
it ſelfe ſhall lacke that that it ſhulde haue.
And the ſight wil ſerche out that that hath
nede of helpe, and make vs to know anone,
where lyeth euery thynge, ſo that we ſhall
not be to ſeke, whan we haue nede of it.

I remembre good Socrates, that vpon a
tyme I wente a bourde a ſhyppe of Phe-
nicia, where I beheld the goodlyeſt order
and the mooſte perfecte that euer I ſawe.
I conſidered, howe great aboundaunce of implimentes was in that ſmalle veſſell. The order of a ſhyp.
There were many oores, and many other
thynges made of wodde: with the whiche
they bringe the ſhyppe into, and out of the

hauen. what a sorte of shrowdes, halsers, cables, lines, & other takeling was there? with howe many ingins of warre bothe to defend it selfe, and to greue an enmye, was it armed? what a syghte of armoure and weapons of the men, cary they about with them. Moreouer, they cary with them moche vitayle and other necessaries, that mē vse at home in theyr houses. Besyde al this, it was laded, with suche stouffe and goodes, as the shyppe mayster getteth by the cariage therof. And all this geare that I spoke of, was stowed in so litell a rowme, that a furre greatter place wolde not haue receyued it, if it shulde haue ben remoued. And I marked howe euery thynge was so well sette in good order, that no one thyng dyd lette an other, nor hadde no nede to be longe sought fore: Nor were not so scatered, and so yll compacte, that a man shulde tary longe for it, whan he shulde occupy it quickely. And he that wayted vppon the Patrone of the shyppe, that is to saye, he that standeth in the fore part of the shyp, I perceyued, that he had euery place so well in his mynde, that thoughe he were not there, he wolde tell you redily where euery thynge laye, none other wyse thanne he that is lerned, can telle howe many letters

go to this worde, Socrates, and in what place euery letter is ſette. Wore ouer I ſawe hym, whan he was ſerchynge and caſtynge in his mynde, howe many thynges a ſhyppe hath nede of: Than I maruaylyng, wherone he muſed and ſtudied, aſked hym, what he meaned. I conſidre and caſt afore hand good man, quod he, if any thing ſhulde chaunce, howe and in what redines euery thynge lyeth in the ſhyppe, whether any thynge lieth out of his place, or if euery thynge be not trymmed to the purpoſe.

For it is no tyme, whan god ſendeth vs a ſtorme on the ſee, to be ſeking that that we nede of, nor to brynge forth that that is not hanſome and wel trimmed. For god threteneth and puniſſheth them that be ydell and negligent. And we may be glad, if he doo not deſtroye vs, whan we do our deutie. And if he ſaueth them, that vſe gret labour and diligence, they oughte to thanke hym greatly. wherfore whan I perceyued and ſawe that goodly and perfect order, I ſaid vnto my wyfe, that it ſhuld be great ſlouth and negligence vnto vs, if they, whiche be but in lyttell ſhyppes and ſmalle veſſelles, fynde feete places to ſtowe euerye thynge in, that they cary with them, And though they be ſore ſhaken and troubled, and cō-

tynually in greatte feare, yet they kepe a good order. And we that haue so goodlye places, and a house standynge stedfastelye on the lande, coude not fynde places mete and conueniente for to sette euery thynge in, howe moche oughte we to be blamed of lewdenes and small wysedome?

we haue sufficiently spoken, howe profitable it is to sette all the implimentes of the house in good order, and to set euery thing in suche a redines, in places mete therfore, that it maye be easye to finde and come by, whan nede requireth. But howe goodly a thinge is it to se sewtes of all a mannes apparell, lyenge by it selfe, keuerlettes, and coũterpointes by thẽ selfe, shetes, towels, and all naprye ware by them selfes, pottes, pannes, caudrons, and other garnitures of the ketchyn by them selfe, al that lõgeth to the table by it selfe, and so lyke wyse of all other thynges, that long to an house, wher at he that is vnwise, & knoweth not good order, wyl laugh. And whether it be soo or not my swete wyfe, we may lightly proue without great coste, and with small labour.

And ye muste not trouble your selfe, as though it were an harde thing to fynd one, that coude lerne the places, and remembre where to set euery thynge. For we knowe wel,

well, that in the citie there is a thouſande tymes more ware thanne we haue: but yet what ſo euer ſeruant ye wyl commande, to go and bye you ſomwhat, in the market, he wyl not ſtand ſtyll, as though he coude not tell what to do, but by the reaſon that he remēbreth, where he hath ſene of it, he goth thither ſtreyghte waye, and fetcheth it. And ſurely ther is none other cauſe of this ſaid I, but that there is a place determined where one ſhall haue it. But if one ſeketh a man, the whiche ſeketh hym to, may fortune he wyll often tymes be ſooner werye than he can fynde hym. And of this lyke wyſe, there is none other cauſe, but that there is no place apointed, where the tone ſhuld tary for the tother. As for ſettynge in order of the houſehold ſtuffe, and of the vſe of it, I remembre I ſpake vnto her after this maner. And howe thoughte ye by your wyfe good Iſchomachus, ſayde I? whether did ſhe obeye you in that thinge, that ye taught her ſo buſily? Iſch. what ſhuld I ſay, but that ſhe promiſed to applie her mynde vnto it. And me thought verily by her countinaunce, ſhe was very gladde, that where afore ſhe was in a great doubte and perplexitie, ſhe had found a good way in it, and beſought me, that I wolde make

an

an order of euery thing, as I had said vnto her, as soone as was possible. And what order dyd you shewe her good Ischomachus sayde I? Ischo. what order shuld I shewe her but this? Fyrst me thought best to shewe her, what a house properlye was ordeyned fore. For it is not ordeyned to be gorgeously peinted with diuers faire pictures, but it is builded for this purpose and consideration, that it shulde be a profitable vessell for those thynges, that shulde be in it. wherfore in a maner it biddeth the dwellers, to lay vp euery thynge, where it is moste mete to put it. The inner priuey chambre, bycause it standeth strongeste of al, loketh for to haue the iewels, plate, and all suche thynges as be mooste precious. The drye places loke for the wheate, The colde for the wyne. And bryght places do desyre suche workes and thynges, as require lightsomnes. More ouer, I shewed her, howe parlers and dinynge places, wel trymmed and dressed, for men to eate and drynke in, in sommer shulde be colde, and in winter hotte. And I shewed her, howe all the situation of the house was very moche southwarde, wherby it maye be clerely vnderstande, that in winter the sonne lighteth well fauourdly vpon it, and in sommer

there

there is goodly ſhadowe in it. Further, I ſhewed her the nourcerie and the womens lodgyng, diuided from the mens lodgyng, leſt there came out any thynge amyſſe, and our ſeruantes ſhulde gette them chyldren without our conſentment. For they that be good, if they haue chyldren throughe our permiſſiō, they wol loue vs the better. And they that be noughte, if they come ones to couple with a woman, they wyll fynde the more wayes, and the more better ſhyfte to fulfyll their vngratiouſnes. And after we had ſpoken thus ſayde he, we went and deuided the houſeholde ſtuffe, by ſewtes and ſortes after this maner. Fyrſte we dyd put to gether all maner of thynges longyng to ſacrifices. Nexte to that the good wyues apparell, both for holy dayes and working dayes, and afterwarde the good manncs apparayle, bothe for the holy dayes, and alſo for warre, Clothes for mens chambres and for the nourcerye, mens ſhowes, and womens ſhowes. Than we appoynted out the inſtrumentes, that belonge to ſpinning and cardyng, and ſuche as perteyne to the bake houſe, to the kechin, to the bathe, and to the boultynge houſe. we dyd ſeperate a ſonder thoſe thynges, that ſhulde be occupied alwaye, from thoſe that be occupied,

but

but at diner and ſouper. And we dyd ſepe-
rate that that we ſhuld ſpend in a monthes
ſpace, and that that was appointed to ſerue
vs a twelue monthe. For ſo it is the better
knowen, in what maner it is brought to an
ende. And after we had ſeperated all the
houſeholde ſtouffe in ſewtis and ſortes, we
dyd ſet euery thinge in a place conuenient.
Afterwarde all the inſtrumentes that our
ſeruauntes muſte occupie dayly, as for the
bakehouſe, for the ketchyn, for ſpynnynge
and cardynge, and other lyke, we dydde
ſhewe them the place, where they ſhulde
put them agayne, and than delyuered thē,
and bade them kepe them ſaue. And as
for ſuche thynges, as ſhulde be occupyed
but ſeldome, or vpon holy dayes, or whan
there came any ſtraungers vnto vs, or at
certayne other times, in certayne buſynes,
we delyuered theym vnto a womanne, that
we made the keper of our ſtore houſe, and
ſhewed her the place, where they ſhulde
be ſette. And whan we had made a re-
kenynge vnto her of all, and alſo written e-
uery thynge, we bade her, that ſhe ſhulde
deliuer them forth as time and nede requi-
red, and that ſhe ſhulde remembre well, to
whom ſhe deliuered any thyng. And whan
ſhe receiued it agayne, that ſhe ſhuld lay it
vppe,

vppe, where ſhe had it before. And to be keper of our ſtorchouſe, we apoynted her, that ſemed vnto vs more ſobre and temperate in eatynge, drinkyng, and ſleping, and that ſhe coude very wel refrain the cõpany of men, and that ſemed alſo to haue a very good remembrance, and that wold beware to be founde in a faute throughe her negligence, leſte ſhe ſhulde diſpleaſe vs with it, and ſeke the meane to do that that ſhoulde pleaſe vs, that ſhe myghte be prayſed and rewarded for it. Moreouer we taughte her to haue a good wyll towarde vs, and to loue vs, For bycauſe that whan there was any thynge happened, that made vs ioyful and gladde, we made her partaker of it, and if we were ſorowfull and heuy for any matter, we called her, and ſhewed her the ſame. Furthermore we taughte her to ſet her good wyll and her good myndc, to encreaſe our houſe, teaching her the way and the maner howe. And if any thynge fortuned well to vs, we gaue her parte of it. Alſo we taught her to be iuſte and trewe in her buſynes, and to eſteme and ſet more by them, that were good and righteſull, than by them that were falſe and vntrewe: And we ſhewed her howe they lyued in more welthe and more libertie, thanne they that

were

were falſe and vntruſtye. And ſo thus we dyd ſette her in the rowme. And at the laſte good Socrates, ſayd he, I ſayde vnto my wyfe, that all this ſhulde auayle nothyng, excepte ſhe toke diligent hede, that euery thyng might remayne ſtyl in good order. I taught her alſo howe in comon welthes, and in good cities, that were wel ruled and ordred, it was not inoughe for the citezens and dwellers, to haue good lawes made vnto them, excepte that they beſyde choſe mē to haue the ouerſight of the ſame lawes, the whoſe ductie ſhuld be to ſe, that they, the whiche do well, and accordynge to the lawe, maye be preyſed, and he that doth the contrary, to be puniſſhed. And ſoo I bad my wyfe, that ſhe ſhulde thynke her ſelfe to be, as if it were the ouer ſeer of the lawes within our houſe: and that ſhe ſhulde, whan ſhe thought beſt, ouer ſe the ſtuffe, veſſel, and implementes of our hous, none other wyſe thanne the capitaine of a gariſon ouerſeethe and proueth the ſoudyours, howe euery thynge ſtandeth: or like wyſe as the Senate and the counſell of Athenes ouerſeeth, & maketh a proffe bothe of the men of armes, and alſo of theyr horſes. And that ſhe ſhulde preiſe & rewarde hym, that were worthy, to her power, as

A good wyues duitie.

if ſhe

if ſhe were a quene, And blame, ye and pu-
nyſſhe hym, that doth deſerue it. Beſyde
all this I taught her, that ſhe ſhulde not be
diſpleaſed, if I did put her to more buſines
& charged her with mo thinges to be done
in the houſe, than any ſeruaunt I had, ſhe-
wynge her, that prentis and couenant ſer-
uãtes haue no more of theyr maiſters goo-
des, but as moche as they deliuer them, to
do theyr mayſters ſeruice with al, or to be-
ſtowe it in their behalfe, or to kepe it for
them: and they maye occupie none of it to
theyr owne vſe, excepte their maiſters do
gyue it them. But he that is the mayſter,
he hath al, and maye vſe euery thing at his
owne pleaſure, wherfore he that hath moſt
profytte by it, if his goodes be ſaufe, hath
moſte loſſe, if they be loſte or periſſhed. I
ſhewed her, it were reaſõ he ſhuld be moſt
dilygent, and take beſte hede about it. Thã
ſayde I. Good Iſchomachus, whanne
your wyfe harde this, howe dyd ſhe take
it? what wyll ye haue any more of it good
Socrates, but that ſhe ſayd: I knowe her
not wel, if I thought it dyd greue her, that
I ſhulde teache her, to take hede to her
goodes and ſubſtaunce. For it ſhulde haue
ben more greuous vnto me a greate deale,
ſayd ſhe, if ye had bade me to take no hede

to my goodes, than to byd me to be diligẽt about that that is myn owne. For me thinketh, that like wise, as it is naturally gyuen to a good womã, rather to be diligẽt about her owne chyldren, thanne not to care for them, Lyke wyse it is more pleasure for an honest womanne to take hede to her owne goodes, than to set nought by them.

And whan I harde, sayde Socrates, that his wife gaue him suche an answere, I said By my fayth Ischomachus, ye tell me of a iolv and a manly stomacke of a womanne. Ye, sayde he, ye shall here me telle you other thynges yet, that wyl well shewe her good lustye harte, that whan she had hard but ones speake of it, streyght way she did after me in it. Soc. I pray you tel me that, for surely I haue more pleasure a greatte deale, to lerne the vertue of a woman aliue, than if Zeusis the excellent peinter shuld shewe me the pycture and portrature of a fayre woman. Than sayde Ischom. whan I had sene her vppon a tyme, that she had peynted her face with a certayne oyntmẽt, that she might seme whitter than she was, and with an other ointment that she might seme redder thã she was in very dede, and that she had a peyre of high showes on her feete, to make here seme taller woman thã she

ſhe was, I ſayde vnto her: Tell me, good wyfe, whether wolde ye iuge me worthier to be beloued, if our goodes and ſubſtance nowe beinge common one to an other, if I ſhulde ſhewe you that that I haue in very dede, and make nother more of it nor no les than it is in very dede, and kepte nothyng priuey from you: or if I went about to deceiue you, ſaying I had more than I haue, and ſhewinge you falſe money, cheines of braſſe in ſtede of golde, counterfeyt precious ſtones, red in the ſtede of ſcarlet, falſe purpull in the ſtede of pure and good? Than ſhe anſwered ſtreighte waye. God forbid ye ſhuld be ſuche one: For if ye were ſuche one, I coude not fynde in myn harte to loue you, I wyll tell you wyfe. we be come to gether to thintent to haue pleſure of the body one of an other, at the leſt men ſay ſo: whether than, ſeinge I muſte gyue you my body to vſe with you, were I better to be beloued after your iugement, if I ſtudied and went aboute to make my body ſeme the luſtier, the ſtronger, the better coloured, the better cõplectioned, and ſhuld noynte my face with certaine oyntmentes, and ſoo ſhewe me vnto you, and lye with you, and gyue you theſe oyntementes to ſe and to handle, in the ſtede of my coloure

and of myne owne face? Forsoth, saide she, I shuld neuer haue more pleasure in handlynge any oyntemente in the stede of your face, nor delyte more in thynge counterfeted, thā in your very cies and natural face. Thynke lyke wyse by me good wyfe, sayd Ischomachus, that I haue no more pleasure in oyntmentes, thanne I haue in your owne natural body and face. And like wise as god hath made horses, to haue pleasure with maares, bulles with kyne, rammes with ewes, so lyke wyse menne do thynke that body moste pleasant, that is pure. And as for suche wyles and deceytes, they may paraduenture begyle straungers, soo that they shall neuer be spyed, but they that be dayly conuersant to gether, they shal lightly perceyue, if the tone go about to deceiue the tother. For they wyll be spied, either whan they ryse out of theyr bedde, before they make them redy, or whan they sweate or whan they wepe, or whan they washe or bath them. Socr. And I praye you, sayd I, what an aunswere made she to it. Ischo. what, sayde I? by my feyth she wente neuer sens aboute no suche matters, but shewed her selfe alway pure with as good cōlines as myght be. And she asked me, whether I coude giue her any counsayl, howe

ſhe ſhulde be fayrer in dede, and not onely appere ſo. And than I gaue her counſeyll, that ſhe ſhulde not ſit ſtyll lyke a ſlaue or a bounde man, but go about the houſe lyke a maiſtres, and ſe howe the workes of the houſe wente forwarde: ſome tymes to the weauinge women, both to teche them that ſhe can do better than they, & alſo to marke who doth better or worſe: ſome tymes to loke vpon her that baketh the bread: ſome tymes to loke vppon her, that kepethe the ſtore houſe, to ſe her ſett vp and mette that that ſhe weaueth: ſome times to beſtyr her ſelfe, lokinge if euery thynge be ſette vp in his place. For I rekened, that this ſhulde be bothe away, to take hede to the houſe, and alſo ſhulde ſerue for a good walke. Alſo I ſaid, it were a good exerciſe to waſhe, to boulte, to bake, to ſhake kcuerlettes, hangynges, tappeſſary ware, and to ſette them vp agayne in their place. For I ſaid, if ſhe dyd ſomwhat to exerciſe her ſelfe, ſhe ſhoulde haue the more luſte to her meate, ſhe ſhulde be the more helthy, and get better fauoured colour in very dede. And alſo the ſight of the maiſtres, being more clenlier and far better apparayled, and ſettyng her hand to worke, and in a maner ſtriuing with her ſeruantes, who ſhal do moſte, is a

greatte comforte vnto them, that be vnder her, specially whan it lieth in them, either to do her pleaser in doinge of theyr worke with a good wyl, or to be compelled to do it againste theyr wylles. But they that alway do stande styl lyke quenes in their maiestie, they wil be onely iuged of those women that be triumphantly arrayd, the whiche do deceyue them. And nowe, sayd he, good Socrates be ye sure, she lyueth euen as I haue taughte her, and as I tell you.
Soc. Than said I. Good Ischomachus me thinketh ye haue sufficiētly spoken touchynge the behauour of your wyfe, and of you, to the greate prayse of you bothe: but nowe I pray you, tel me your owne dedes, that bothe ye may reioyce in tellyng suche thynges, the which do gette you so good a name. And whan I haue harde and lerned the workes and dedes of a good honest mā I may giue you suche thākis as ye deserue and accordynge to my power. By my fayth, sayd Ischomachus, I wyll be glad to tell you all, what so euer I do, to the intent ye may correcte me, if ye thynke I do not wel in some thynge. Socrates. Ye but tel me, howe coude I correcte you, seinge that ye be come to this poynt, to be a good honest man, specially whan I am the man,

that

that is takē for a trifler, that occupieth him ſelfe in nothynge, but in meaſurynge of the aire: And that that is a very ſore rebuke, and a token of moſt great foly, I am called a poore man. And I aſſure you, that name wold haue troubled me very ſore, if I had not met the tother daye by chance one Nicias hors, and ſene moch people that came after to beholde him, and harde very moch talkyng of hym. And in very dede I came to the horſe keper and aſked him, whether the horſe had moche money or not. And he loked vpon me, as though I had ben mad, to aſke hym ſuche a pinifſhe queſtion, and ſaid: Howe ſhuld a horſe haue any money? And ſo I turned me euen backe again, whā I harde, it was laufull for a poore horſe to be good, if he had a good fre harte and ſtomacke with hym. And therfore I praye you, ſeinge it is lyke wiſe lauful for a poore man to be good, that ye wyll tell me your maner of lyuynge to the vttermoſt poynte, to thentent that whan ye haue tolde me, I maye endeuour my ſelfe to lerne it, & from this day forwarde to begyn to folowe you and do after you. For that maye be called a very good day, on the whiche a man beginneth to be good and vertuous. I know well ye ieſt with me good Socrates, ſayde

The name of pouerte

Iſchomachus: But yet I wyll tell you as farforth as I canne, the holle courſe of my lyfe, the whiche I purpoſe to folowe ſtyll tyll the laſte daye of my lyfe.

After that I had wel perceyued, that excepte a man knoweth what is to be done, & wyll ſette and applye his mynde and dylygence to performe the ſame, god granteth no man to do well. And vnto them, that be both wiſe and diligent, god ſendeth welth and good fortune. wherfore fyrſte of all I began to honour and worſhyp god, and to call vpon hym with my prayers, that he wold vouchesafe to ſend me the grace, that I might haue my helthe, ſtrength of body, honour in my citie, good wyll of my frendes, to returne home againe ſafe from warfare, with the increace of my ryches and goodes. Socra. And whan I harde that, I ſaid: And care ye ſo moch to waxe riche, ſeinge that whan ye be riche, ye haue the more trouble, in ſtudienge howe to order and kepe your goodes? Yes mary, ſayde Iſcho. I haue no ſmall care of that that ye aſke me. For me thynketh it is great pleaſure bothe to worſhippe god honoraly, and to helpe my frendes, if they be in nede, and to ſe that the citie be not depryued of the ornamentes of ryches, as moche as lyeth in me

in me. Socra. By my fayth, that that ye ſay good Iſchomachus, is good and alſo very honourable, and longyng to a man of great power and ſubſtaunce. Iſcho. It muſte nedes be thus. For there be ſomme men, the whiche can not liue, but they muſt be holpen of other men. And there be many agayne, that reken it ſufficient, if they canne get that, that is neceſſary for them.

But thoſe that wyll not onely order and gyde theyr houſes, but alſo haue ſo greate aboundance, that they do bothe honour to the citie, and alſo helpe and eaſe their frē-des: why ſhulde not they be called and taken for men of profound wiſedome, of gret power, and of ſtoute ſtomacke? Socrates. Surely ther be many of vs, ſayde I, that may well praiſe ſuche maner of men. But for goddis ſake tell me euen fro the place, where ye beganne, howe ye go aboute to maintein your helth, and alſo the ſtrength of your body, howe it may be lauful, to retourne honourably home agayne ſafe from the warre. For as touchynge the encreaſynge of goodes, we ſhall here of it afterwarde ſufficiently. But me thynketh, ſaid Iſc. that theſe thinges be linked together, and come one after an other. For whan a man hath meate and drynke ſufficientely, if

he do labour well, he shall haue his helthe the better and the longer. And he that is well exercised in war, he shal returne home safe agayne, and with more honour. And he that is diligent, and doth not coker him selfe, nor gyue him selfe to slouth and idelnes, he is the more lykely to encreace his house. Soc. Forsothe good Isc. I grant you all this euen hytherto, where ye saye, that he that laboureth, taketh peyne, vseth diligence, and exercyseth him selfe, cometh the rather to goodes. But what labour ye vse to meinteine a good complection, and to get you strength, and how also ye exercise your self for the war, and howe ye studye to get so moch substance and goodes, that ye may bothe helpe your frendes, and make the citie more honorable and strōger by it, that wold I very fayne here. Verely good Socrates sayde Ischoma. I ryse in the mornynge out of my bed so yerly, that if I wold speke with any mā, I shal be sure to fynde hym yet within. And if I haue any thynge ado in the citie, I go about it, & take it for a walke. And if I haue no matter of great importance to do within the cityc, my page bryngeth my horse afore in to the fieldes, and so I take the way to my groūd for a walke, better parauenture, than if I

dyd

dyd walke in the galeries and walking pla-
ces of the citie. And whan I come to my
grounde, and if my tenantes be eyther ſet-
tynge of trees, or tyllyng or renewyng the
grounde, or ſowynge, or caryenge of the
fruite, I beholde howe euerye thynge is
done, and caſte in my mynde, how I might
do it better. And afterwarde for the moſte
parte, I gette me a horſebacke and ride as
nere as I can, as though I were in warre
conſtrayned to do the ſame, wherfore I do
not ſpare nother croked wayes, nor noo
shroude goinges vp, no ditches, waters,
hedges, nor trenches, takynge hede for al
that, as nere as can be poſſible, that in this
doing, I do not maime my horſe. And whā
I haue thus doone, the page leadethe the
horſe trottynge home agayne, and caryeth
home with him into the citie, out of the cō-
tre that that we haue nede of. And ſo than
I get me home againe, ſomtimes walkyng,
and ſomtime runnynge. Than I waſſhe
my handes, and ſo go to dyner good Soc.
the which is ordeyned betwene bothe, ſoo
that I abyde all the daye nother voyde nor
yet to ful. Socrates. By my trouth good
Iſchomachus, ye do theſe thynges won-
ders pleaſauntely. For in dede to vſe and
occupye at ones all maner of thynges,
that

that be ordeyned for helth, for strength, for exercise of war, for study and conueiance, howe to get goodes, and al in one time, me thinketh, amarualous thynge. For ye do shewe euident tokens, that ye applie your mynde well and trewly to all this. For we se you commonly, thanked be god, for the moste parte helthfull, stronge and lustye. Moreouer we know, that ye be called one of the beste horse men, and one of the rychest men of the citie. Ischomachus. And thoughe I thus do, as ye haue harde, yet can not I eschewe detraction: ye thought paraduenture that I wolde haue sayde, I am therfore called a good honest manne.
Soc. And forsoth so I was aboute to say good Ischoma. But this I thought firste to enquere of you, whether ye do studye & set your mynde, howe to answere these detractours, and speake in a cause, whether it be your owne or an other mans, or to iuge it, if nede be. Isch. Thinke you that I do not sufficiently my parte in this matter, if I thynke by my good dedes to defende my selfe, and do no wronge, and as moche as I may helpe and do pleasure to many men? And moreouer, thinke ye that it is not wel done to accuse suche men, that do wronge both to priuate men, and also to the cite, & that

that wyll do no man good? Socrat. But yet if ye ſet your mynde to ſuche thynges, I praye you ſhewe it me? Iſchomachus. Forſoth I neuer ſtint, but am alway exercyſinge my ſelfe in retoricke and eloquẽce. For whan I here one of my ſeruantes cõplayne on an other, or anſwere in his owne cauſe, I ſeke to knowe the truthe. Againe, I either blame ſome man to my frendes, or els prayſe him, or els I go about to bringe at one ſome men of mine acquaintance, that be at variaunce, endeuorynge my ſelfe, to ſhewe them, howe it is more for theyr profytte to be frendes, than yll wyllers and enmies. And before the hygh rulers I vſe both to commende and defende hym, that is oppreſſed by wrong and iniurie, and before the lordes of the counſaylle I accuſe hym, that I ſe promoted vnworthyly, and I preyſe that that is done by counſaile and deliberation, and the contrarye I diſcommende. But I am nowe broughte to this pointe, that either it behoueth me to ſuffre or to puniſſhe. Socr. Of whom I praye the Iſcho? For that do not I yet knowe. Iſchoma. Mary of my wyfe. Soc. But in what maner do ye ſtryue in your quarel? Iſchoma. whan ſhe happeth to ſay trouth, it is very gentilly done. But whan ſhe lyeth,

Stryfe with a wyfe.

eth, and erreth in her wordes, forsoth So. I can not reforme her. Soc. May chance that, that is false, ye can not make it trewe. But paraduenture ye wolde begon Ischo. and I do let you. Truely I wolde be lothe to tary you, if it please you to go hense.
Ischomachus. No in good faythe, good Socrates, I wil not go hence til the court breake vp. Socrates. By my faythe, ye be right circumspect, and take good hede, that ye lose not that honorable name, to be called a good honest man. For where parauenture ye haue many grete businesses and thynges to take hede to, that require grete dylygence, yet bycause ye promysed those strangers to tary for them here, ye wil not deceiue them. Ischo. As for those my businesses that ye speke of Socrates, I haue prouided for them wel inough. For I haue in the fieldes my baillies of housebandry, & my beputies. Socr. But sins we be fall in this communication, I pray you Ischomachus tell me, whan ye haue nede of a good bayllye, doo ye inquere, whether there be any that canne do it welle, and so fynde the meane to haue him: lyke wise as whan ye haue nede of a carpenter, whan ye knowe where is one, that can good skylle therof, ye wil desire to haue him, orels do ye make

your

your bayllies and deputies your ſelfe, and teache them to do it? By my fayth, I indeuour me to teache and inſtruct them my ſelfe. For he that ſhulde be ſufficient to do thoſe thynges for me in myne abſence, that he is put to, what nedeth he to knowe any thynge, but that that I doo my ſelfe. For if I be ſufficient to ſette men a worke, and commaunde theym what they ſhall do, I trow I am able to teach an other man that that I can do my ſelfe. Socra. Than he that is a bailly of husbandry muſt owe you good wyll and fauour, and alſo to al yours, if he being preſent, ſhalbe ſufficient in your abſence. For without loue and good wyll, what good can a bayllye do, if he be neuer ſo experte and connynge? By my faythe, ſaid Iſchomacus, neuer a whyt: but as for me, the fyrſte thynge that euer I do, I go aboute to teache him to loue me and myne, and to loue my goodes. And I pray you for goddis ſake tell me, howe do ye teache hym to loue you and yours, who ſo euer he be that ye do this benifitte vnto? By my fayth, ſayd he, by gentyl and liberal deling, whan god ſendeth me plenty of any maner thinge. Socra. This ye meane I trowe, that they, the whiche be eaſed and holpe by your goodes or money, do loue you and

howe to prepare a baylie of husbādry.

deſyre

desyre that ye maye do well. Surely good Socrates, sayd he, that is the beste instrument that can be, to allure and gette a mans good wyll withal. Socrat. And whan he beareth you good wyll good Ischomach. is he therfore suficient to be a bayly? For we maye se, that al men loue them selfes, and yet through slouggishenes they be negligent to do those thynges, the which for the moste parte they coueyt right moch to haue, as goodes. Ischo. Ye but whan I wol make suche men as loue me, my bailies and ouer seers of my busynes, I instructe and monishe them before, howe they shuld ouer se euery thynge dyligently. Socrate. Can ye brynge that to passe? Forsothe me thinketh it is vnlykely, that any man coude be taught, to gide an other mans busines a ryght. Isch. In very dede it is impossible good Socrates, to instruct and teache euery man diligently to do it. Socr. And who be they, that ye thinke mete to be taught & instructed? For that I desyre very greatly to knowe. Ischo. Fyrste of all they that can not refrain them selfes from dronkennes, are excluded from this care. For drō-kennes bringeth in with it forgetfulnes of all maner of thynges, that a man shulde do. Soca. whether thanne is it impossible, but

onely

onely in them, that can not refrayne them from dronkennes, to make them diligente, or be there any other beſyde? Yes mary ſayde Iſchomachus, and they alſo that can not refrayne them ſelfe from ſlepe. Socra. Be there any mo beſyde thoſe? Me thinketh, ſayde Iſchomachus, that they, the whiche do ſette theyr myndes ſoore to the pleaſure of the fleſſhe, that it is impoſſible to teache them to haue more mynde to any thynge than to that: for they can finde nother hope nor ſtudy more pleaſant to them then of theyr loucrs. And whanne they haue any thynge to do, it is harde to imagyne a ſorer puniſſhemente, than that is to them to be kept from them they be in loue with. Therfore I let ſuche maner of men go, nor neuer go about to teache theym to be more diligent. Socr. Ye but they, that do ſet theyr mynd ſore to lucre, be not they apte to be taught that diligence, the which ſhuld be vſed and occupied in your groūd? Iſchoma. Yes mary they, there can none be ſoner brought to this diligence. For ye nede no more but only to ſhewe them, that dylygence is very profitable. wherfore if I chance to haue ſuche one, I commende hym moch. Soc. And as for other men, the whiche do refrayne them frome ſuche

thinges as ye do command, and haue a mete-
ly good mynde towarde lucre, howe do
ye teche them to be as diligent as ye wold
haue them? Ischoma. Mary very well
good Socr. For whan I se them diligent,
I do bothe preyse and rewarde them. And
agayne, whanne I se them negligente and
recheleſſe, I both do and say al that euer I
can to anger and vexe them with. Socrat.
Ye but Ischomachus, sauing your tale, that
is of them, that be all redy instructed to be
diligent: tell me this, touching the instruc-
tion of them, whether it be possible for a
man, that is naturally negligente, to make
other dilygent? Ischo. No by my faith,
no more than he that hath no skil in musike
can make other men musitians. For it is
harde for a scholer to lerne that thing wel,
that his maister teacheth yl. And it is hard
for a seruaunte to vse any diligence, whan
his mayster gyueth hym exaumple of neg-
ligence. And shortely to speake and in ge-
neral, I do not remēbre, that euer I harde,
that any yll mayster had any good seruan-
tes. Mary this haue I seene, that a good
diligente mayster by his chastisyng of dull
heded seruauntes, hath lyghtly instructed
them. But he that wyll go aboute to make
other dilygent in theyr worke, he most spe-
cially

Diligente mayſters make good ſeruantes.

cially oughte to be a prouident and a ware man, and ouer ſe and marke theyr workes. And whan there is any thynge wel and dilygently done, he muſte cunne hym great thanke that dyd it, and he muſte not ſtycke to punyſſhe hym ſharpely, accordyng as he deſerueth, that is negligēt in his buſines. And forſoth me thinketh to this purpoſe it is a ryght goodly aunſwere, that the Perſian made, For whan the kynge of Perſe aſked hym, rydynge vppon a ryghte fayre horſe, what thyng dyd ſoneſt make an hors fat, he ſaid his maiſters eies. Some thinke lyke wiſe good Socrates, by al other thinges, that the maiſters eie moſte ſpecially maketh them to be in farre better plite.

Socra. But whan ye haue tolde and ſhewed hym very wel, and with gret inſtance, that he muſte take hede to ſuche thynges, as ye wyll haue hym, and that he is verye dylygent, is he than mete to be your bayly or ſtewarde, or els muſte he lerne ſomwhat beſyde to make hym fitte for that purpoſe?

Iſchomachus. No I wis man. For it behoueth hym yet to lerne, what he muſt do, and whanne, and howe he ſhall order euery thynge. For elles what auaileth a bayly or a ſtewarde more withoute this, than a phiſytyon, the whiche nyghte and daye,

yarly and late taketh hede to a ſicke man, and yet he wotethe not what is profitable for the ſame pacient. Socrat. And whan he knoweth what is to be doone, ſhall he nede any thynge elles, or ſhall he than be a perfecte baily or ſtewarde? Iſcho. He thynketh, that he ſhulde lerne alſo to rule the worke men. Socra. And do ye teache your bailie or ſtewarde to be able to rule? I go about it at leſte, ſayd Iſchoma. Soc. And I praye you for goddis ſake, howe do ye teache men to haue the ſcience to rule & commande? Iſchoma. Very eaſily good Socra. in ſo moch, that I thynke ye ſhall laugh at it, whan ye here it, Soc. Forſoth good Iſch. ſayd I, it is no matter to laugh at, but he deſerueth and ought rather to be hyghly lauded, that hath the wyt to teache that. For he that can teache men howe to rule, he can alſo make them maiſters, and he that can make them maiſters, can make thē princelyke and able to be kinges. Iſch. Surely al maner of beſtes good Socrates, do lerne to obey by the reaſon of theſe two thinges, that is to ſay, whan they do ſtriue, and wyll not be obediente, they be puniſ=ſhed: and whan they do quickely that that a man byddeth them, they be cheriſſhed & well intreated. Coltis and yonge horſes

lerne

lerne to obeye theyr brekers and tamers: For whan they doo obeye them, they haue ſomwhat done to thē for it, that is to theyr pleaſure and eaſe: But whan they wyl not obey, they beate and handel them very ſore & roughly for it, vntyll the time they ſerue the breker at his wyll. And yonge ſpaynels lyke wiſe, the whiche be worſe than men a great deale, for lacke of reaſon, and for lacke of ſpeche, yet they lerne to ren about, to fetche or cary, to go in to the water after the ſame maner. For whan they obey, they haue ſomwhat gyuen them, that they haue nede of, and whan they wyll not nor care not for it, they be puniſhed. But as for men they maye be well parſwaded & brought to obedience, if a man wyll ſhewe them, howe it ſhall be for theyr profytte, if they do obey. Neuertheles vnto bond men and vile perſons, that way that is vſed and occupied towarde beaſtis, wyll very well induce them for to lerne to obeye. For if ye do ſomewhat for theyr bealye, and make them fare well, ye ſhall gette very moche done of them. But ioly ſtomackes and noble natures be mooſte moued and ſtyred with prayſe. For there be ſome natures, that do deſyre as moche laude and preyſe as other do meate and drynke. And whan

I haue taught him, that I wil make my bai-
ly or my steward de, suche thinges, the whi-
che whan I do them my selfe, me thynketh
I shall make men more obediente vnto me,
I do ioyne this vnto it besyde. For as tou-
chynge hosen and showes, and other ray-
ment, the whiche I muste gyue my labou-
rers, I make them not alyke. For there be
some better and some worse: to the entente
that the best workmē may haue the preemi
nence to haue the better, and the worst may
be giuen to the worste. For me thynketh,
hit greueth good seruauntes verye soore,
whā they se that the worke that they haue
done, and how those haue euen as moch as
they, that wyll not labour nor take peyne,
whan it behoueth to do it. wherfore nother
I my selfe wyl not suffre, that they that be
worst, and they that be beste, shuld be ser-
ued al a lyke. And whan I se that my bay-
lies and deputies doth gyue the moste and
the best to them that do beste, I do preyse
him for it. But and I se him prefer any man
afore other, bycause of his flatterynge, or
for some other pitiisshe cause, I do not suf-
fre it so to passe, but I blame and rebuke
him greatly therfore, and I goo aboute to
teache hym also, that that, the whiche he
doth, is not for his profitte nother. Socra.

And

And whan he is ſufficiente thus to rule and guyde, good Iſchomachus, ſo that he can make them to obey hym, do ye thynke that baylly perfecte on euery ſyde, or hath he nede of any other thynge elles? Yes mary, ſayde Iſchomachus, for it behoueth hym to kepe his hãdes clene from his maiſters goodes, and beware that he ſteale nothing therof. For if he, that hath the fruites in his handes, wold, be ſo bolde to conuey ſo moche out of the waye, that that, whiche remayned were not ſuffycyente to mayn=teyne the worke and fynde the labourers, what profytte ſhulde we haue by his bay=lyſhyppe, and by his dilygence? Socrates. And do you in dede take vpõ you to teache them that iuſtyce and ryghteſulnes? Yes mary, ſayd Iſchomachus, but I fynd that euery manne dothe not obeye and folowe this teachynge and inſtruction of myne. Neuertheleſſe I take here a pece of Dra=cons lawes, and here a pece of Solons, & ſo endeuour my ſelfe to bringe my ſeruan=tes to folowe iuſtyce. For me thynketh that theſe men haue made many lawes to teache men iuſtice. For they haue written, that he muſte be puniſſhed that ſteleth, and he that robbeth muſt be put in priſon & put to deathe. wherfore it may be clerely ſene,

that they haue written those thinges to the intente that they, the whiche do gette any goodes foule and shamefully, contrary to reason and equitie, shuld haue no vantage nor no profyt by it. And whan I haue this do, I bringe in beside somme lawes of the kynge of Perse, to make my seruauntes to deale rightfully in that they be put to. For as touchinge Dracons and Salons lawes, they do no more but punysshe them that do amysse, but the kynge of Perses lawes do not onely punysshe them that do wronge & vniustly, but also they do them good that be ryghtful and deale iustly. wherby it appereth, that many, the whyche be very coueytous, and care not what they do, soo that they may wyn, when they se that they, the whiche be ryghtefull and good, waxe rycher than they, the whiche doo other men wronge, they continue and prospere well in this that they do no man wronge. And whan I perceyue that any of theym, vnto the which I haue benne good and shewed pleasure vnto them, wyll not leaue, but go about styll to do wronge and deale vniustely, than whan I perceyue that he is past al remedy, I put hym out of his roume, and wyll not let hym occupyeit no more. But whan I perceyue, that any of them setteth

persiens lawes.

his

his mynde and courage to be a good, a iuſt and a true ſeruant, and doth it not ſo moch bycauſe they thynke to haue ſomme vaun=tage by it, but for the deſire that they haue to pleaſe me, & to be preyſed of me, though they be bounde men, I vſe them as fre mē, and for theyr ioly fre harte, I do not onely promote them in goodes and ryches, but alſo preyſe and commende theym as good and honeſt men. For me thynketh that an honeſt manne, that is deſyrous of honour, doth differ in this poynte from a couetous man, that for preyſe and honour wyll take peyne and put hym ſelfe in ieoperdy, whan it is nedefull: and yet kepe him ſelfe cleane from foule lucre. And thus whan ye haue ones engendred and faſtned this affection in a man, that he oweth you good wyl, and bereth you good loue and fauour, and that ye haue brought hym to this point, that he wyll applie his mynde and diligence to do euen as ye wold your ſelfe, and beſide that ye haue gotten him the ſcience, howe eue=ry worke that is done ſhal be moſt profita=ble, and made him alſo ſufficient and able to rule, and that he wyl beſide this bring and ſhewe you the fruites of the grounde none other wiſe thanne ye wolde to your ſelfe: whether nedeth he any thyng els or not, I

wyll speke no more, for me thynketh, that such a man shuld be a very good and a profitable stewarde and deputie. Socra. But I praye you good Ischomachus, doo not leaue behynde that parte, whiche we haue so lyghtely runne ouer. And what is that sayd Ischomachus? Socrates. Mary ye sayde, that the greatteste poynte of all was to lerne howe euery thyng shulde be done, to the ende that profyte therby shulde ryse vnto vs, for other wyse ye sayde, that dylygence coude auayle nothynge, excepte a man knewe what and howe to do. Ischo. Do ye byd me to teache you the science of housbandry? Forsoth it is it, sayde I, that maketh them riche, that can wel occupie it and they that can not, thoughe they take neuer so moch peine, they liue wretchedly. Ischo. Nowe than fyrst of all ye shall here howe gentil a science it is. For seynge it is moste profitable and pleasante to occupie, most goodlyest, best beloued of god and of men, and beside that moste easye to lerne, howe shulde it nat be a gentyll science? For we call al these beastis gentyll, the whiche be goodly, great, and profitable, and be not fierse but tame among men. Socra. But me thynketh good Ischoma. that I haue very wel perceyued, that where ye sayde,

howe

howe a man muſte teache a ſtewarde and a deputy, and that ye taught him to owe you good louc and good wyll, and lyke wyſe, that ye went aboute to make hym diligent, able to rule, and alſo ryghtfull: but where ye ſayde, that he, whiche wil be diligent in dede in husbādry, muſt lerne what is to be done, howe, and in what ſeaſon, me thynketh we haue ouer paſſed it ſome what to quickely and to negligently. Lyke wiſe as if ye ſayd, that he, the which wil write that that a man ſpeaketh, and rede that that is written, muſte knowe his letters. For he that did here this, hath harde nothing els, but that he muſt lerne to know his letters. But whan he perceyueth, that he is neuer the nerer to knowe what letters do meane. And nowe lyke wiſe I beleue verye well, that he, the which wil vſe diligence in husbandry, muſt lerne to know wel husbādry, but though I beleue and knowe that well, yet am I neuer the wyſer howe to occupy husbandry. And if I were euen now determined to fal to housbandry, I wold thinke I were lyke a phyſition, the whiche gothe about and loketh vpon ſicke mē, yet can he not tel what is good for them. And therfore to thend I be not ſuche one, teche me the very point and caſt of husbandry. For ſothe

soth good Socrates, sayde he, it is not by this as by other craftes and sciences, that he which lerneth them must be a long time about them, and bestowe moch peyne and labour in them, er he can do any thynge to get his liuing by. Housebandry is nothinge so harde to lerne: for ye shall lerne it euen anone loking vpon the labourers, and partly by heryng speke of it, so that if ye wyl ye may teache it vnto other. And truely other artificers and craftes mē do hide and kepe priuey to theym selfe the beste poyntes of theyr sciences, the good housebande men, he that setteth trees best, he wyl haue very great pleasure, if any man beholde him, and he that soweth after the same maner. And if ye aske him of any thing that is wel wroughte, I am sure he wyll neuer kepe from you, howe he dyd it. And soo good Socrates, housebandry techeth them that be conuersant in it to be of gentyll maners and disposition. Socrates. Forsoth this is a good begynnynge, and nowe I haue harde you tell this moch, it is vnpossible to stoppe me from inquerynge of you further therof. And therfore seynge ye saye it is a thyng so easy to lerne, do the rather shewe it me. For it is noo shame to you to teache that that is easye: but it is rather a greatte

shame

ſhame to me, if I can it not, ſpecially whan it is ſo profitable.

And therfore I wyll ſhewe vnto you firſt of all ſayde Iſchomachus, that that whiche is the diffuſeſt poynt of all huſbandry, as they ſay, whiche diſpute of it mooſt exactly in wordes and in dede, occupie it neuer a whit, is nothynge harde at all. For they ſay, that he that wyll be a good housbande man, muſte fyrſte knowe the nature of the grounde. Socrates. In dede they ſeme to ſay wel: For he that doth not know what the grounde wyll brynge forthe, I trowe he can not knowe nother what ſede he ſhuld ſowe, nor what trees is beſt to ſet. Iſchomachus. And therefore a man may knewe by an other mannes grounde, what it wyll brynge forthe, and what it wyll not, when he ſeeth both the fruites and alſo the trees. And whan he knoweth it ones, it is not for this profytte to ſtriue agaynſte god and nature. For if a man doth either ſow or ſette that that he hath nede of, he is neuer the nerer to haue that that is neceſſary for him, except the grounde do in a maner delite and take pleaſure both to bryng it forth and to noryſſhe it. But if he can not knowe the goodnes and fertilitie of the grounde by reaſon of the idelnes and negligence of them

Knowlege of good grounde.

them that haue it in hande: he shal often times better knowe it by some ground that is not farre from it, than of the neyghbour that dwellethe by it. And all thoughe the ground be vntylled and vnlaboured, yet it sheweth his owne nature. For that groũd, that bereth good wilde fruites and wedes, wyl bring forth, if it be taken hede to, and well tylled, other good fruites and herbes as wel as them. So that they that be not al of the beste seene in housebandry, can well discerne the nature of the grounde. Socrates. Forsothe good Ischomachus, I maye be bolde to byde by this, that a man nedeth not to absteyne from housebandry, for feare leest he knowe not the nature of the grounde. For I do remembre, that fisshers, whiche be alwayes occupied in the see, the whiche comme not to beholde the grounde howe it is, nor walke not fayre & softly, but runne euẽ through it, whan they se the fruites on the grounde, they wyl not stycke to shewe theyr opiniõ of the groũd, whiche is good, and whiche is badde, and preyse this, and dispreyse that. And I se they wyll be communyng often times with men, that can very good skyll in housbandry, and shewe them verye many thynges touchynge a good ground. Ischomachus.

where

where than wyl ye haue me to begyn good Socrates to declare housbādry vnto you, leſt I reherſe ſomwhat that ye know alredy, for I perceiue, ye be right expert therin? Socrates. This me thynketh bothe profitable and a very gret pleſure to lerne, and alſo it belongeth ſpecially to a philoſopher to knowe, howe I myght, if I wold, by tylllynge and labourynge the grounde, haue very moch plenty of barly, rie, whete, and other corne. Iſchomachus. This I trowe ye knowe well inoughe, that falowynge and ſtirrynge of the grounde, helpeth very moche to the ſowinge? Socrates. Forſoth ſo I do. Iſchoma. And what if we ſhulde begynne to falowe and plowe the groūd in winter? Soc. That were naught. For than the erthe ſhulde be all ſlimy. Iſc. And what thynke ye in ſomer? Socrates. Than it wolde be to harde to plough it. Iſchomachus. well than we muſte nedes begin in the ſpringe of the yere. Socr. Ye mary, for then it is mooſte lykely, that the grounde openneth and ſpredeth his owne ſtrength and vertue aboute, whan it is falowed and tilled in that tyme. Iſcho. Yea and beſide that good Socrates, the yonge wides turned vp ſo downe at that tyme, be as good to the ground as any doungynge:

and

and they be not yet come to that strength, that the sede of them caste adowne canne growe vp agayne. And Itrowe ye knowe this well inough, that if the falowinge, and the tyllynge of the ground shuld be good, the grounde must be clene kepte and delyuered from wides, and wel fauourdly heated and warmed of the son. So. Me thinketh in very dede it shuld be so. Isch. And do ye thinke, that that cā be better brought to passe by any other meane, thanne if the ground be often tymes stirred in the sommer? Socrates. I knowe very well, that the wides can neuer better wyther awaye and drye vp, nor the ground be better heated throughe the heate of the sonne, than if the grounde be ploughed and styrred in the middes of sommer, and in the myddes of the day. And if any man doo falowe, or digge the grounde with his owne handes, is it not clere inough, that he also muste seperate asonder the wides fro the ground, and caste the wides abrode, that they may dry vp, and turne vp so downe and styr the grounde, that the loosenes and the rawe watrisshenes of it may be warmed and wel dryed vp? Ischom. Than ye se well good Socra. howe we be bothe in one opinion, touchynge falowinge and styrrynge of the grounde.

ground. Socrates. So me thynketh: And touchyng ſowing, haue ye any other knowlege or opinion, but that is the ſeaſon to ſowe, the whiche bothe men of olde antyquitie, approuinge it by experience, and all they, that be nowe, takynge it of them, do iudge it beſte of all? For whan the ſommer is ones paſt, and September cometh in, all men that be in the worlde do loke vpon almyghty god, that whan it ſhal be his pleaſure to ſende ſomme rayne, and make the grounde wete and moyſtie, that they maye fall to ſowynge euen as he commandeth it. Socrates. And forſoth good Iſchoma. all the men in the worlde haue determyned by one aſſente, that they wyl not ſowe, whan the ground is drye. And it is clere to euery man, that they take great loſſis and damages, that wyll goo aboute to ſowe afore god byddeth them. Iſchomachus. Than in theſe thinges all we men do agre. Socr. For in that that god teacheth, it foloweth, that euery man agreeth in it: As for a ſimilitude, Euery man thynketh beſt to weare good furred and well lyned gowes in winter, if he be able, & alſo to make good fire, if he haue wodde. Iſchomachus. Yea but there be many, the whiche do vary in this, touchinge ſowinge, whether it be beſte to

sowe in the beginnynge, in the myddes, or at the later ende. Socra. And god dothe not sende euery yere of one like temperatnes of wether. For some tymes it is beste to sowe in the begynnynge, some tymes in the myddes, some tymes at the later ende. Ischomachus. But what thynke ye beste gentyll Socrates, whanne so euer a man hath chosen his sowynge tyme, or euer more in this tyme, or nowe in this and now in that, whether is it beste to sowe moche seede or lyttel? Socrates. Me thynketh best of al good Ischomachus, to distribute the seede, well, full, and trewely. For I suppose it is a gr catte deale better, to take corne inough euer more, than some tymes to moche and some tymes to lyttell. And in this poynt also good Socrates sayd he, you beinge the lerner, do agre with me the teacher, and you haue shewed your opinio afore me. Socrates. But what of that said I, for in the castynge of the seede, there is moche counnynge? Ischomachus. In any case good Socrates, lette vs loke vppon that. For ye knowe well, that it muste be caste with a mannes hande. Socrat. Forsoth I haue sene it done so. Ischomachus. But some can cast it euen, and som can not. Socrates. well than it lacketh nothynge

elles

els but to exercyſe the hande, as harpers and luters do, that it may folowe the mind. Iſchomachus. It is very well ſayde: But what if the grounde be thinner or groſſer? Socrates. what meane you by that? Do ye not take the thynner for the weaker, and the groſſer for the ſtronger? Iſchomacus. That ſame meane I. Socrates. And this wolde I fayne knowe of you, whether ye wyl gyue as moche ſeede to the tone as to the tother, or elles whiche of them wyl ye gyue more vnto? Iſcho. In the wyne that is ſtronge, me thynketh it behoueth to put the more water, and the man that is ſtronger muſt beare the greter burthen, if there be any thynge to be caried, and ſome men are fed and nouriſhed with ſklender fare, and the ſame herin muſte be obſerued. Socrates. Thynke you not that the grounde waxeth ſtronger, if a man do put more fruit in it, likewiſe as moiles and horſes do waxe ſtronger with cariage, that wolde I deſire you to teache me. whan Iſchomacus hard that, he ſayd: what Socrates, ye ieſt with me. But yet, ſayde he, take this for a very ſuretye, that whan a manne hathe ſowen any ſeede in the grounde, loke whanne the grounde hath moſte comforte of the ayre with wete and moyſtenes, if the corne be

grene newely ryſen oute of the erthe, if he ſtyre and turne it in ageyne, it is as if hit were a ſuſtinaunce to the ground, and getteth as moche ſtrength by it, as if it hadde ben donged. But if ye ſuffre the grounde continually to bring forth fruite of the ſede it is harde for a weake grounde to bringe forthe moche fruite ſtyll, lyke wyſe as it is harde for a weake ſowe to gyue ſucke and ſuſtinance to many pigges, and kepe them fat and in good plite whan they waxe gret. Socrates. Ye ſay good Iſchomac. that ye muſt ſowe leſſe ſede on a weaker grounde. Iſcho. So I do in dede good Socra. and ye alſo did graunte it vnto me a littel afore, whan ye ſaid, that ye thought that the weakeſt ſhuld be leaſt charged. Socr. But for what reaſon good Iſchomac. do ye make diches in the corne fieldes? Iſchoma. Ye wotte well, that in wynter are many ſhowers. Socra. what therof? Iſchomachus. Mary therof chaunce many hurtes: for a great part of the fielde is ſurrounded with water, and the corne couered in mud, and the rootes of moche of the corne ar worne and waſhed away with the water, and further often times by reaſon of the great abundaunce of water, there cometh moche wides and other harlotry, that ſuppreſſeth

and

and diſtroyeth the corne. Socrates. It is lyke inough, that all this ſhulde be. Iſcho. And thynke ye than, that the corne beinge in that takynge, hath not nede to be holpe? Socr. Yes mary. Iſchomachus. Than if the corne be couered with mud, what ſhall we do to helpe it? Socrates. Mary eaſe the grounde and make it lighter. Iſchom. But what if the rootes be waxed thyn and almoſte worne away? Socrates. Than ye muſte caſte to more erthe that it maye take roote and growe agayne. Iſchoma. But what if the wides and other harlotry ſuck vppe the moyſture from the corne, lyke as the drone bees, the whiche beinge theym ſelfes vnprofitable, do robbe away and eate vp the bees vitayles, that they had ſet vp for to worke with? Socrates. Mary the wides and harlotry muſte be pluckte and cut away, lyke wyſe as the drone bees are voided out of the hiues. Iſchoma. Thinke you than that we do not make the dyches & sloughes in the fieldes for a good cauſe? Socrates. Forſothe ſo it is, but I thynke nowe in my mynde good Iſchoma. what a thynge it is to brynge in ſimilitudes & likenesſes. For ye haue moued me more a gret deale, and made me more diſpleſed ageinſt theſe wides, whan ye ſpake of the droone

bees, than whan ye spake of the wides the selfes. But nowe after this sayde I, harueſt season wyl come, wherfore I pray you tell me, if ye haue any thynge to teache me in this matter. Iſchoma. So I wyll, if ye do not shewe your selfe, that ye know it as well as I. This onces ye knowe, that the corne muste alway be reaped. Socr. what els? Iſchom. whether than must ye stande to reape it with the wynde, or agaynste the wynde? Socrates. Not agaynst the wind, for it wolde be a great peyne, as I thynke both for the eies and also for the handes, to reape agaynste the eares blowen downe with the wynde. Iſchoma. And howe wyl ye cutte it, at the very toppes, or euen by the grounde? Socrates. If the stalke be short, I wyll cut it alowe, that there maye be strawe inough: But if it be very hye, I thynke better to cutte it in the myddell, to thentent that nother the threshers nor the fanners, shal take more peyne in vayne than nedeth, and that that remayneth, I thynke if it be burned, it wyl do the grounde very moch good, and if it be laid with the dōge, it wyl fyl and encrese it. Iſchomachus. Do ye se nowe frende Socrates, howe ye be taken in the very decde doynge, that ye knowe as well as I, what longeth to reapynge?

To reape corne.

pynge? Socrates. In faythe I am aferde, leſte it be ſoo in dede: And nowe wyll I ſe lyke wiſe, whether I can threſſhe or not. Iſchomachus. This ye knowe wel, that horſes do threſſhe corne. Socr. why ſhuld I not, and not onely horſes, but alſo moyles, and oxen lyke wiſe? Iſchomacus. But howe canne theſe beaſtes ſtampe well and threſſhe the corne euen as they ſhuld good Socrates? Socrates. It is clere, that it is by the reaſon of theym, whiche haue the charge of the threſſhynge, For they do euermore turne and ſtyr and put vnder their fete that that is vnthreſſhed, and ſoo they muſt nedes make it euen, and make an ende of it as quickely as may be. Iſchomachus. Than as for this buſynes, ye knowe it as wel as I. Socrates. Nowe after this good Iſchomachus, let vs clenſe the corne and wynnowe it. Iſchomachus. Tell me than good Socrates, do ye knowe this, that if ye beginne to winowe it in that part of the wynowynge place, where the wynde is ageynſt you, that the chaffe wyl be ſcatered abrode through al the winnowynge place? Soc. It muſte nedes. Iſch. Than it muſte nedes as wel fal vpon the corne So. Verily it is no ſmall poynt to make the chaffe to go beyonde the corne in a voyde roume of

To threſſhe corne.

the winowynge place. But if a man begyn to winowe vnder the wynd, or a syde halfe of it, than it is clere, that all the chaffe will voyde to the place that is ordeyned for it. Ischomachus. But whan ye haue clensed the corne euen to the myddell of the winnowynge place, whether than, the corne beinge thus scattered abrode, wyll ye wynowe the remanant, or wyll ye put fyrst to gether on a heape as narowly as can be all that euer is clene? Socrates. Forsothe I wyll fyrste put to gether on a heape al that is clene, leste parauenture the chaffe be caried about the wynowynge place, wherby I shoulde be fayne to wynowe twyse one thynge. Ischomachus. Nowe than gentyl Socrates, ye may teache an other man, if ye wyll, howe he shall soncst get his corne clensed. Socrates. In good faythe I had almost forgot, that I coude all this a great whyle ago. And nowe I cast in my minde, whether I haue forgotten my selfe, that I can play on the harpe, playe vppon recorders, peynte, and carue, and other sciences. For there was neuer man, that taught me these no more than to be a housebande man. And I se as well other men worke in theyr sciences as housebande men labour the grounde. Ischomachus. And dyd not

I tel you but a litel afore, that this ſcience of houſebandry is wonders pleaſante and very eaſy to lerne? Socrates. I know very well good Iſchomachus, that I vnderſtode and coude all maner of thinges, that do longe to ſowinge, but I haue forgotten my ſelfe, that I coude theym. But the ſettynge of trees ſayde I, is that any poynt of houſebandry? Iſchomachus. Yes mary. Socrates. Howe happeneth than, that I knewe well all ſuche thynges as longe to earynge and ſowynge, and am ignoraunte in that that longeth to plantynge of trees? Iſchomachus Be ye ignoraunte in dede? Socrates. I muſt nedes be, ſeing I know not in what grounde a man ſhulde ſet a tre, nor howe depe, nor of what lengthe, nor what breade it be ſette in, nor whan it is in the grounde, howe it ſhal beſte growe and come vppe. Iſchoma. wel than lerne that that ye knowe not. I am ſure ye haue ſene, what pittes they make for trees that do ſet them? Socrates. That I haue very many tymes. Iſchoma. And dyd ye neuer ſe any of them deper than thre fote? Socrates. No mary I, nor yet deper than two fote & a halfe. Iſchoma. And as for the brede did you euer ſe any broder than thre fote? Socrates. Forſoth & god, I neuer ſawe none

Settynge of trees.

past two fote and a halfe brode. Isch. Now answere me this agayn, Dyd ye euer se any of lesse altitude than two foote? Soc. In very dede I neuer sawe none of lesse altytude than two fote and a halfe. For if the plantes were but shalowe sette, they wold sone be writhed vp. Ischomac. Than it is apparant inoughe to you good Socrates, that they dygge the pyttes to set in trees, no dyper than two fote and a halfe, nor no broder than two fote and a halfe. Socr. It muste nedes be so, seinge it is so clere. Isc. But touchynge the grounde, do ye knowe whiche is dry and which is wete, if ye se it. Socrates. Me thinketh the grounde, that lyeth about Licabectus, or any other that is lyke vnto it, is drye grounde: And that is called a wete grounde, the whiche lieth about Phalericus, full of maris all aboute, and any other lyke vnto it. Isch. whether than wyll ye dygge vp a depe pitte to set in trees in the drye grounde or in the wete? Socra. In the dry ground verily. For if ye shuld make a dype pyt in the wete ground, ye shulde fynde water: and than ye coulde not sette it in the water. Ischo. Me thynketh ye say very wel. And whan the pittes be dygged vp, ye know what trees be mete for bothe groundes? Socra. Very well

Ischo.

Iſcho. And if ye wolde that the tree, whi-
che ye do ſette, ſhulde growe and come vp
well fauourdly, whether thynke ye it wyll
better ſpring and waxe mighty and ſtrong,
if ye ſette vndernethe erthe that hathe ben
labored and occupied afore, orels ſuche as
hath ben alway vnoccupied? Socrates. It
is clere inoughe ſayd I, that it wyll growe
and come vppe better by the reaſon of the
erthe occupied, than of the grounde vnoc-
cupied. Iſchoma. Than there muſte ſome
erthe be put vnderneth. Socr. why ſhuld
it not? Iſch. But whether thynke ye, that
the vine braunche, the whiche ye ſette, wil
gether rotes better, if ye ſette it ſtreyghte
vpryght, or if ye ſette it croked vnder the
ground, ſo that it be lyke this greke letter.
Y, turned vp ſet downe? Socr. Mary euen
ſo. For than there ſhall be the more rootes
in the erthe, wherby the plante ſhall ſtand
the faſter, and ſoo many the mo braunches
ſhall ſpringe vp. Iſchoma. well than in this
matter we haue bothe one opinion. But
whether wyll ye no more but caſt the erthe
to the plante that ye ſet, orels wil ye treade
e rãme it hard downe? Socr. Forſoth I wil
treade & ſtampe it harde to. for els it were
leoperdy, leſt the raine wold lightly perce
in, and ſo rotte and marre the rootes, orels
the

the sonne dryinge the erthe away from the rootes of the plante, shulde lewse and vnfasten it, and so kyl it. Isch. wel than good Socrates we be bothe of one opinion touchynge settynge of vines. Socrates. And shal I sette a frygge tree after the same maner? Ischoma. Yes I trowe, and all other trees lyke wyse. For if ye can sette vynes well, what other settyng is there but that ye may take it vpon you lyke wyse? Socra. But howe shulde we set olyue trees good Ischomachus? I pray you proue afore any thynge, whether I can any skylle therin. Ischo. Y e se howe there is a good depe pytte digged for an olyue tree, I wote wel ye coude not chose but se it, seinge they be digged euen by the highe waies syde. Also ye se howe the very stockes of the olyues be sette in the settynge place. And farther ye se how there is clay laide vpon the toppes of them: And howe of al trees that be planted, there are none couered aboue, but onely the same. Socrates. All this I se well Ischomach. And whan ye se it, what shulde be the let, that ye shulde not knowe it: excepte parauenture ye canne not telle howe to clappe a shell fast to the clay, that is set on the toppe therof? Socrates. By my saythe, of all this that ye haue spoken,

there

there is nothynge but I knowe it. And nowe I caſte in my mynde agayne, what is the cauſe, that whan ye aſked me but a lyttell afore in generall, whether I coude ſette trees, I ſayd no. For me thought I coude not tell, howe a man ſhuld ſette trees. But after ye beganne to enquere of me euerye thynge by it ſelfe, I aunſwered you accordynge to your mynde and to your owne opinion, the whiche is called the moſt parfecte houſbande man, that is nowe at this daye alyue. Is not my chaunce good Iſchy. ſayde I, aſkinge a maner of techyng? For I haue lerned and canne well nowe euery thynge by it ſelfe, what ſo euer ye haue demaunded of me. For ye leade me by ſuche thynges, as I am ſkilled in and vnderſtād, vnto ſuche thynges as I perceyued not: and ſoo ye perſwade and make me beleue, that I knowe them as well as the tother. Iſchomachus. well, thynke ye, that if I aſked you after the ſame maner, touchyng ſyluer or golde, whiche is good and whiche is badde, that I coude perſwade you, that ye be a good trier of golde and ſiluer? And agayne, I coude not perſwade you, if I aſked you neuer ſo moch, that ye canne playe vpon recorders, or that ye can peint, or do any ſuche thynges? Socra. Parade-

uenture

uenture yes. For ye haue perswaded me, that I haue well the science of housebandry: and yet I knowe well, that there was neuer any body, that taught me that sciẽce. Ischomacus. It is not so good Socrates: For I haue tolde you a praty while agoo, that housebandry is so pleasante and so familiar a science, that they, the whiche do eyther se it, or here tel of it, be euen by and by wel lerned in it. And also it sheweth many thinges it selfe for a man to lerne, howe to order it beste. For euen at the fyrste the vine, the whiche crepeth vpon the trees, if there be any neere hande, sheweth, that it wolde be holpen vppe and susteyned. And whanne it spredeth abrode his leaues and braunches, the grapes beinge yet but very tender, it shewethe, that in that season, hit wolde haue shadowe made there vnto it, where as the heate of the sonne lyeth sore vpon it. And whan it is tyme for the grapes to waxe rype and swete, the whiche is caused onely by heate of the sonne, it letteth the leaues falle, to teache the housebande men, that it wolde be lyghtned and eased, that the fruite maye the better waxe rype. And whan that by the reason it hath brought forth moch fruite, and some ar ripe and some not, it sheweth, that those clou

sters,

ſters, that be rype, muſt be gadered, like as on fygge trees they muſt be taken downe, that be ripe and redy to be gethered. Socrates. Howe can this be, good Iſchomachus, if houſebandry be ſo eaſy to lerne, & euery man knoweth wat is to be doone, as well one as an other, that they haue not a lyuinge by it all a lyke? For ſome haue gret plenty and lyue welthyly, and other ſome haue ſcantly ſo moche as they nede, and be in dette to other men? Iſchomachus. Mary I wyll tell you good Socrates, it is nother the knowlege nor lacke of knowlege of houſebande menne, that makethe ſome of them ryche and ſome poore. For ye ſhal not lyghtly here ſuche a tale go about, that ſuche a mannes houſe is vndone, bycauſe he hath not ſowed euen: or bycauſe that he hath not well ſette or planted his trees: or bycauſe he knewe not what grounde was good for vines, he hath ſet his in a naughty grounde: or bycauſe he knewe not, that it was good to falowe the grounde before he dydde ſowe it: or bycauſe he knewe not, that it was good to dounge it. But this ye may here often tymes very wel. This man getteth no crop on his ground this yere. For he hath made no prouiſyon to gette it ſowed, or to get it dounged. And agayne:

This

This man getteth no wyne. For he nother careth to plante any vines in his grounde, nor seeth nothynge to those that be alredy planted, to make them bryng forthe some fruite. This man hath no oyle. This man hath no fygges: For he wyll take no peine nor apply his minde to haue any. These be the causes good Socrates, that make one housebande man to dyffer from an other, & to be also vnlyke in substance and in riches, a great deale more, than if any of them semed to be experter in his workes and businesses. And of the capitaynes of war lyke wyse, there be many, the which haue egally good wytte and very good syghte in suche thynges as do longe to warre, and yet there be some of theym better and somme worse, and that is through the diuersity of takynge hede and of diligence. For suche thynges as all capitaynes doo knowe, and also the moste parte of them, that were neuer in that dignitie, some capitaynes do them & some not. As thus. All they know, that it is better for them, that shall leade an armye throughe theyr ennemyes lande, to marche forwarde in good order and array: that they may be alwaye redy to fyghte, if nede be. And yet some of them that knowe this very wel, do it, and some do not. Also

all

Alſo all they knowe, that it is beſt to kepe watches and ſcoutwaches bothe by nyght and by daye: And yet ſome of them ſe well to, that it be ſurely kepte, and ſome do not. Agayne, whanne they leade theyr armye throughe narowe places, ye ſhall all moſte fynde none, but that he knoweth, it is better to preuente theyr ennemyes be tymes than to late. And yet ſome of them do their dilygence, that they maye ſo do, and ſome do not. And lyke wyſe of dounginge. Euery man ſayth, it is very good and neceſſary for the grounde to dunge it. And they ſe, howe men maye haue it bothe of beſtis in his owne kynde, and alſo finde other meanes to haue it, and make caſyly a very gret deale therof. And yet ſome take hede, that it be gethered, and ſome lette it paſſe, and care not for it. Yet god ſendeth rayne from aboue, and all maner of holowe grounde receyueth it, and kepeth it, and waxeth a pouddell with it. The grounde bryngeth forth al maner of wydes and naughty harlotry. And he that wyll ſowe, muſte fyrſte rydde and purge the grounde, and ſuche wydes and thinges as he gethereth out of the lande, if he caſte them into the water, in proces of tyme, it woll be as good, and as holſome to the grounde, as any doun-

gynge. for what wydes be there, or what grounde is it, that wyll not become donge in very dede, if it be caste in to standynge water? Moze ouer what remedy is there, if the grounde be to wete to sowe in it, or to sooze to set trees in it? Euery man knoweth, that the water muste be voyded out by makynge of dytches and sloughes pourposely therfoze: and howe the soozenes is minished and mitigated, if al maner of thinges, the which be not sooze, whether they be dryе or wete, be myngled there with. And some huscbandes take good hede to this, and some regarde it not. But if a man knowe neuer a whit, what the ground wyll bring forth, noz can se nother fruit noz tree in it, noz speke with no man, that shall tell hym the trouth of it: is it not farre a great deale easyer to haue a profe of it, than eyther of a horse oz a mã? For that that it sheweth, it is not shewed falsely and colozably but tilled, it sheweth the very trouth, without any fainynge, what it can brynge forth, and what not. And forsothe me thynketh, that the grounde doth best examine, which be good, and which be vnthryfty husebandes, in that that it setteth forth al maner of thynge so easy to be lerned, and so soone to be knowen. For it is not in husbandry as it

is

is in other craftes, that they, the whiche do not worke, may excuſe them ſelfes, and ſay, that they can not ſkyl to do it: but euery man knoweth, that if the ground be wel tylled & huſebandly handled, it ſheweth vs pleaſure agayne for it. And ſurely husbandry is it, that beſte moueth a mans vnluſty corage and ſluggiſhe diſpoſitiõ. For there is no man can perſwade hym ſelfe, that a man can lyue without ſuche thynges as be neceſſary. But he that hath no ſciẽce, wher by he maye gette his lyuynge, nor wyl not fal to houſebandry: it is clere, he is eyther a ſtarte foole, orels he purpoſeth to gette his lyuynge by robbynge and ſtelynge, orels by beggynge. More ouer, ſayde he, it made gretly to the matter, concerning the gettynge or loſynge by houſebandry, that whan they haue many laborers and ſeruãtes, that the tone taketh good hede, that his worke men be ſet to theyr worke in due ſeaſon and tyme, and the tother dothe not. For that man is better than ten other, that falleth to his worke in ſeaſon. And that mã is farre worſe than an other, the which ſuffreth his workemen to leaue theyr worke, and go theyr way ouer tymely. And as for betwene hym, that ſuffreth his worke men and labourers to tryfyll awaye the daye,

and hym that wyll not, there is as greatte dyfference, as betwene the holle worke fi-nisshed and the halfe of it: Lykewyse as in iourneying by the way in fyfty myle space, two men, whiche go bothe one waye, and thoughe they be bothe as swyfte, as hole, as yonge, and as lusty, the tone as the to-ther: yet the tone shall ouer go the tother xxv. myle in a day, if the tone goth on his iourney lustyly, and the tother for slouthe and cherisshynge of hym selfe, resteth by the way, besydes sprynges and fountaines, and seketh for shadowes and softe windes to refreshe hym with. Lyke wyse in wor-kynge there is greate oddes, whan a man dothe applye lustyly his worke, and whan he dothe not, and rather fyndeth excuses, why he shulde not worke, and suffereth his folke euery daye to tryfle forth the tyme.
And as for to worke well and diligentely, or to worke naught and negligently, there is as greate dyfference betwene these two thynges, as is betwene hym that worketh and hym that worketh neuer a whytte. For whan they go about to clense the vines frō wydes and harlotry, if they dygge in suche wyse, that therby growe vp mo and greater wides than dydde before, why maye it not be sayd, that they were idel & wrought

neuer

neuer a whytte. And therfore theſe be the thynges, by the whiche many mens houſholdes be a great dealc rather vndone, thā for lacke of ſcience or of great knowledge. For a man that is at great coſtis and charges in his houſe, and can not gette as moche, nother by his rentes, nor by his huſebandry, as wyll fynde hym and his meyny: it is no maruayle, if in the ſtede of greatte plenty and riches, he fall into extreme pouertie. But vnto ſuche men as wyll dylygentlye apply them ſelfe to houſebandry, and increaſe theyr ſubſtaunce, and ſhortely waxe riche therby, my father ſhewed ſometyme a good precepte, the whiche alſo he taught vnto me. He counſayled me, that I ſhulde neuer bye that ground, the whiche hath benne well laboured and tylled, but ſuche a grounde, as remayned vnlaboured and vntilled, eyther throughe theyr negligence, that owed it, or elles bycauſe they were not able to do it. For the ground that is well tylled and dyght, wyll coſte moche more money, and yet it is than euen at the beſte: And the grounde, that can waxe no better, can not make a man to haue ſo moche pleaſure, and to reioyce ſoo moche, as the tother doth, whiche waxeth better and better. For he thought, that all maner of

goodes, whether it be lande or catell, the whiche do encreace and waxe better, causeth a man to haue more pleasure and ioye in it. And there is nothynge, that increaseth more than doth that grounde, the whiche laye before vntylled and vndyght, and nowe is waxed good and frutefull. And be ye sure of this good Socra. that we haue often tymes made moche lande, that we haue boughte, a greatte deale more worth than the price that it was bought for at the fyrste. And this caste, that is not so notable and so profitable, is so easy to lerne, that nowe ye haue ones harde it, ye canne it as well as I, and maye teache it vnto other, if ye lyste. But as for my father, he neuer lerned it of none other man, nor neuer spēt great study to fynde it oute: But bycause his mynde was greatly set vpon housebandry, and also he had a pleasure to laboure, he sayde, he desyred to haue suche a grūd, that both he myght haue somewhat to do, and also that the profytte commynge of it, might reioyce him. For me thynketh good Socrates, that of al the Atheniens, my fathers mynde was moste set vpon husebandry, euen of his owne nature. Socrates. And whan I hard that, I asked him: whether dyd your father kepe styll to him selfe

any

any of it, if he coude get moche money for it? Iſchomacus. Yes mary, he dyd ſel ſome of it nowe and than: & immediately after he wolde bye an other pece, that lay vntylled and vndyghte, bycauſe his mynde was ſo moche ſet to laboure and to houſebandrye. Socrates. Forſothe good Iſchomacus, ye ſhewe me here a maruaylous deſire and affection, that your father hadde to houſebandry, none other wyſe as me thynketh, than ſome marchauntes myndes be ſette vpon wheate. For marchaunte men by the reaſon that their hartes is ſore fyxed vpon wheate, where ſo euer they here that ther is moſte wheate, thyther wyll they in any wyſe reſorte, and wyll not ſtycke for daunger to paſſe any ſee what ſo euer it be. And whan they haue bought vp as moche therof as they can get, they ſhyp it in the ſelfe ſame ſhyppe, that they ſayle in them ſelfe, and ſo bring it home. And whan they haue nede of money, I trowe they do not ſel it away raſhely, not carynge in what place, as though they deſyred to be lyghtly diſpatched therof: but they bryng it thyther to ſell, where they here, that wheate is at a great price, and were as men wolde verye fayne haue it. Iſcho. wel Socrat. ye ieſte with me: but yet me thinketh he loueth the

masons crafte neuer the worse, that buyldeth houses and selleth them, and maketh newe agayne afterwarde. Socrates. By my faythe I swere to you good Ischoma. I beleue you very well, in that ye thynke, that euery manne loueth beste, and setteth his mynde moste vpon that thynge, whereby he thynkethe to gette any great profyt. But nowe I consider in my mynde, howe well al your communication hath serued to the purpose and grounde of this matter. For your grounde and begynnynge was, that the science of housebandry is sooneste and best lerned of all other sciences: And now by the reasō of that that ye haue said, I am vtterly perswaded, that it is so. Forsothe sayde Ischomachus, it is so in verye dede. But as for that thynge that is egally common to all mens dedes, whether it be in the exercise of housebaundry, or in the orderynge of an house, or in the gouerning of a citie, or in the knowledge and science of feates of warre, I graunt you very wel, that there be somme men, that haue a farre better wytte, a farre better caste and policye, and knowe better howe to rule and commande, than some other do. Lyke as in a galey whan they be on the se, and must dryue as farre with oores in a daye as they

shulde

ſhulde ſayle, there be ſome, that he ſette to comforte and courage them, the whiche haue ſo good grace bothe in theyr wordes and in thyr dedes, that they ſo quicken and encourage men, that they labour with all theyr verryc hartes. And there be other ſome ſo groſſe and ſo rude, that they wyll be twyſe as longe in makynge of theyr vyage, as the tother were. And as for the tother, they come downe ruſſhynge myrryly, ſweatynge and preyſynge one an other. And as for theſe felowes they come down layſerly, and they neuer ſweate for the matter, they hate the mayſter of the galley, & he agayn hateth them. And after the ſame maner there be ſome Capitaynes, that do differ one from an other. For there be ſom, that can not bryng it to paſſe, to make their ſoudiours gladde to take peyne, nor to put them ſelfe in ieopardy, but euen very than whā they cā not choſe, but they wil rather boſt them ſelfe, and take it for a gret preiſe, that they maye contrarye the Capitaynes mynde, nor the capitaynes can not inſtruct them to be aſſhamed, if any thynge misfortune, that is worthy of rebuke. But there be other, whiche be good, wyſe, and politike capytaynes, the which if they take in hande the ſelfe ſame men, or paraduenture

other, as they do often tymes, they wyll make them to be ashamed to do any thyng, that shoulde turne to theyr rebuke, and to thynke that it is beste for them, both to be obediente euery one of them by hym selfe, and whanne nede requireth to take peyne, gladdely to do it all to gether with a verye good wyl. And lyke wyse as there be some priuate men, the whiche of theyr owne nature, be gladde to take labour and peyne, so a good capitayne engendreth this affection in all his hostis mynde, that they be gladde to be put to peyne, and they coueit nothynge els so moche, as to be preised for some greatte and notable acte, done in the syght of theyr capitayne. And what so euer capitaynes they be, that haue such men of warre vnder them, berynge to them ward so good mynde and fauour, I saye they in very dede be myghty and stronge: and not they, the whiche haue a great myghty body, and can throwe a darte, and shote very well: Nor they that haue good horses, and can runne with a speare and iuste afore any man: but they that can bryng theyr soudiours in to suche affection and beleue, that they wolde gladly folowe them throughe fyre and water, and throughe all maner of daunger. Suche men maye well be called

hardy

hardy that valyaunte, and haue ſoo manye bolde men redy and preſte to do what ſoo euer they commaunde. And it may well be ſayde, that he goth forward with a myghty ſtronge hande, that hath ſoo many handes folowynge hym redy at his pleaſure. And he maye be called a very greatte man in dede, the whiche doth very great actes, more by prudence and wyſedowe, thanne throughe the ſtrength of his body. Moreouer, whether he be a debytie or a ruler, that can make men redy and gladde to applye theyr worke, and bringe them to contynue well in it, they be thoſe, that ſhal ſoneſte gette goodes and growe to greatte ſubſtaunce. And as for the mayſter, if he be ſuche a man, that can well punyſſhe the labourers, that do nought, and reward them that do very well, yet whan he cometh to the workes, if the labourers do make noo ſhewe of it, I wyll not ſet greatly by hym: but he, the whiche whan they do ſe hym, they be all moued and ſtyred vp, and haue a great courage and deſire one to do better than an other, and a feruente mynde to be prayſed aboue al. I ſay, that that man hath ſomme thynge of the diſpoſition longynge to a kynge. And me thynkethe it is a very great poynt in al maner of thinges, that be done

done by the helpe of men, as well as it is in housebandry. And to abteyne it, verily I wyll not saye, as I haue doone in housebandry, that a man shall lerne it, if he ones seeth it, or hereth it tolde, But I saye, he that wyll be able to do it, hadde nede to be very well instructe, and eke to be of a good gentyll nature, and that is mooste of al, to haue a very great grace and gyfte of god. For me thynketh this grace commeth not all of man, to rule and gouerne so, that men very gladly wyl be obedient, but it is rather a speciall gyfte of almyghty god: and graunteth it vnto them that be indowed with vertue and temperaynce. But to rule men tyrãnously agaynst their wylles, he putteth them vnto it (as me semeth) that he iugeth worthy, as they say, that Tantalus dryueth forthe the tyme in helle, beinge alwaye aferd to dye twise.

FINIS.

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strete, by Thomas Berthelet
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moste noble grace.
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Cum priuilegio.